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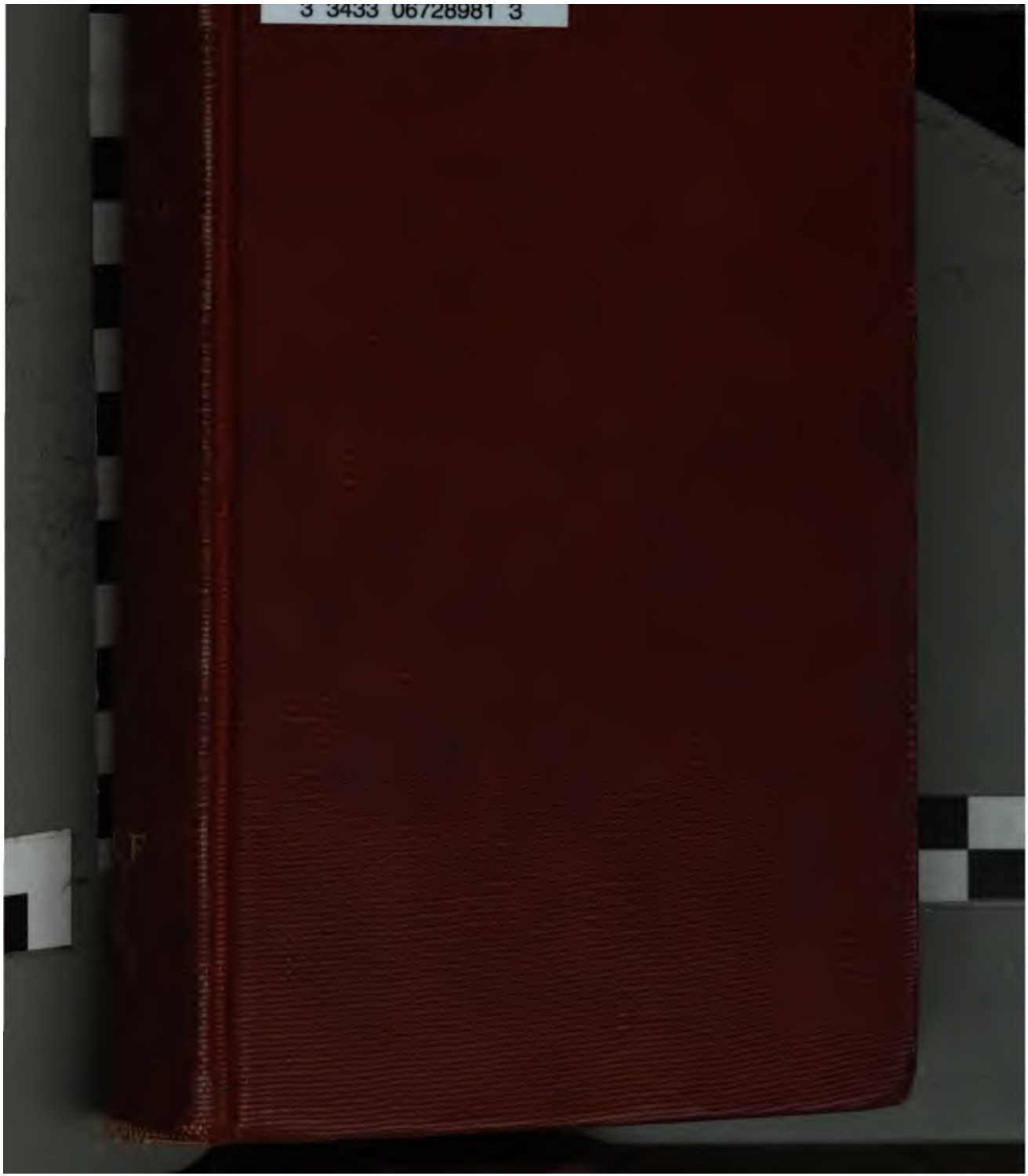
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THE WHOLE WORKS

OF ROGER ASCHAM,

NOW FIRST COLLECTED AND REVISED,

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR;

BY THE

REV. DR. GILES,

FORMERLY FELLOW OF C. C. C.,
OXFORD.

VOL. III.

LONDON:
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,
SOHO SQUARE.
1864.

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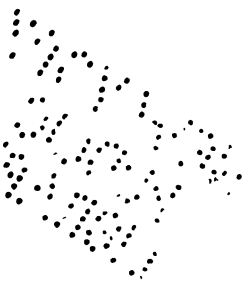

PREFACE TO VOL. III.

OF the first work contained in this volume, "*A Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany, &c.*" I have seen but one separate edition; a fac-simile of its title is prefixed to our reprint of the work. It is in small quarto, and has no date; but it is known to have been printed in 1552, and again in 1570.

The copy which I have seen, is in the British Museum, and has furnished, besides many smaller corrections, more than one whole sentence that had been omitted in the last edition of the English Works, 8vo, 1815.

2. *The School-master* also is here printed from the "English Works of Roger Ascham," collated throughout with the earlier editions, which have furnished several important corrections of the text.

This work was first published by Mrs Ascham, small 8vo, 1570, after her husband's death: a fac-simile of

the title to that edition is prefixed to the work in the present reprint.

The School-master was again printed in 1571, 1573, 1579, 1583, 1589,—these editions vary very little the one from the other.

It was again published, with notes by the Rev. James Upton, London, 8vo, 1711, and reprinted 1743.

The work is also found in the English Works of Roger Ascham, and has lastly been carefully edited "by John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of Saint John's College, Cambridge; London, Bell and Daldy, 186 Fleet Street, 1863, fcap 8vo."—The notes in this edition are most elaborate, and must cause every reader to regret that the able and learned editor did not extend his plan by giving us a complete edition of his favourite Ascham's works.

The notes found in the last London edition of the works have been all retained, with some few corrections and additional references.

3. The *Poemata*, which first appeared in one of the early editions of the *Epistolæ*, edited by Grant, were afterwards omitted by Elstob and others, but are here restored. They add nothing to Ascham's classical reputation—nor, on the other hand, do they detract from it; for, notwithstanding the great stir made in those times about classical learning, there had been a

great falling off, owing to the revival of the native English tongue under the Lancastrian and Tudor kings. Those poems might be retained, if only to show that poetical licences, if not false quantities, formed a great part of the stock-in-trade of those who then cultivated the Latin muse. But there may be another reason, still more sad, for their preservation; for, whilst the names of Ravaillac, Fenton, and other murderers, have been immortalized by the fame, not of themselves but of their victims, it is also clear that the making of these unlucky hexameters caused the untimely death of Roger Ascham.

4. The *Oration* on the life and death of Ascham, is as perfect a specimen of the bombastic style used in such compositions as we can easily meet with. It is, however, a great guide to the facts and dates of Ascham's life, and though lengthy and repulsive in its Latinity, could not with propriety be left out. It was first published by Grant as an introduction to his first edition of the Letters.

5. Seven *Letters* by Giles Ascham, son of the Royal Tutor, are now first published from the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum.

They are written in the same querulous style which the father always used, when soliciting money from the Queen and others who were his patrons.

6. The volume ends with a Glossary of words which either are now out of use, or have been modified in their pronunciation or otherwise. The idea is taken from Mr Mayor, who, in his valuable notes to the *Scholemaster*, has pointed out the good that might be got if such a plan were generally followed by those who bring out new editions of our old writers.

J. A. G.

Cranford, Middlesex, 1864.

A REPORT

and Discourſe written by
Roger Aſcham, of the affaires
and ſtate of Germany and the
Emperour Charles his Court,
duryng certaine yeares,
while the ſayd Roger
was there.

AT LONDON.

¶ Printed by Iohn Daye,
dwelling ouer Alderſgate.

¶ *Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ*
Maieſtatis, per Decennium.

A

REPORT AND DISCOURSE,

&c.

JOHN ASTLEY to R. ASCHAM.

I now find true by experience, which I have oft heard of others, and sometimes read myself, that men make no such account of commodities when they have them, as when they want them. I mean this by our friendly fellowship together at Cheston Chelsey, and here at Hatfield, her Grace's house; our pleasant studies in reading together Aristotle's Rhetoric, Cicero, and Livy; our free talk, mingled always with honest mirth; our trim conferences of that present world, and too true judgments of the troublesome time that followed.

These commodities I now remember with some grief, which we then used with much pleasure, besides many other fruits of friendship that faithful good-will could afford. And these thinkings cause me oft to wish, either you to be here with us, or me to be there with you: but what wishing is nothing else but a vain wailing for that which will wanteth, I will cease from wishing, and seek the true remedy for this sore; and that is, whilst we meet again in deed, in the mean while to ease our desires with oft writing the one to the other. I would, indeed, I had been partaker, in your company, of that your pleasant absence out of your country; and

because I was not, I pray you let me be partaker, by your letters, of some fruit of that your journey.

We hear of great stirs in those parts; and how the emperor, a prince of great wisdom and great power, hath been driven to extreme shifts; and that by the policy of mean men, who were thought to be his friends, and not by the puissantness of others who were known to be his open enemies. I know you were wont in marking diligently and noting truly all such great affairs: and you know likewise, how desirous I am always to read any thing that you write. Write therefore, I pray you, that we your friends, being at home, may enjoy by your letters a pleasant memory of you in that time whilst you be absent abroad. Farewell in Christ.

From Hatfield, xix. *Octobris*, 1552.

R. ASCHAM TO JOHN ASTLEY.

SALUTEM *plurimam in Christo Jesu.* That part of your letter from Hatfield, *decimo nono Octob.* renewing a most pleasant memory of our friendly fellowship together, and full of your wonted good-will towards me, I answered immediately from Spires, by Fraunces the post: which letter, if it be not yet come to your hand, ye might have heard tell of it in Mr. Secretary Cecil's chamber in the court.

As concerning the other part of your letter—for your wish to have been with me in this mine absence from my country; and for your request, to be made partaker by my letters of the stir of these times here in Germany; —surely I would you had your wish: for then should not I now need to bungle up yours so great a request,

when presently you should have seen with much pleasure, which now peradventure you shall read with some doubt, lest * things may increase by writing, which were so great in doing; as I am more afraid to leave behind me much of the matter, than to gather up more than hath sprung of the truth.

Your request containeth few words, but comprehendeth both great and divers matters. As first, the causes of the open invasion by the Turk; of the secret working for such sudden breaches in Italy and Germany; of the fine fetches in the French practices; of the double-dealing of Rome with all parties: then more particularly, why Duke Octavio, the Prince of Salerne, Marquis Albert, and Duke Maurice, brake so out with the emperor, which were all so fast knit unto him as the bonds of affinity, loyalty, blood, and benefits could assure him of them: Octavio being his son-in-law, the Prince one of his privy chamber, Marquis Albert his kinsman, and Duke Maurice so inhanced with honour and enriched with benefits by him, as the duke could not have wished greater in hope, than the emperor performed in deed. Here is stuff plenty to furnish well up a trim history, if a workman had it in handling. When you and I read Livy together, if you do remember, after some reasoning we concluded both what was in our opinion to be looked for at his hand that would well and advisedly write an history: First point was, to write nothing false: next, to be bold to say any truth; whereby is avoided two great faults, flattery and hatred: for which two points Cæsar is read to his great praise, and Jovius the Italian to his

* *With some doubt, lest*, &c.—That is, with some doubt lest I should have magnified in my narrative things that were so great in real action. Ed. 1553 has *lesse*.

just reproach. Then to mark diligently the causes, counsels, acts, and issues in all great attempts: and in causes, what is just or unjust; in counsels, what is proposed wisely or rashly; in acts, what is done courageously or faintly; and of every issue, to note some general lesson of wisdom and wariness, for like matters in time to come; wherein Polybius in Greek, and Philip Comines in French, have done the duties of wise and worthy writers. Diligence also must be used in keeping truly the order of time; and describing lively, both the site of places and nature of persons, not only for the outward shape of the body, but also for the inward disposition of the mind, as Thucydides doth in many places very trimly, and Homer every where, and that always most excellently, which observation is chiefly to be marked in him; and our Chaucer doth the same, very praise-worthily: mark him well, and confer him with any other that writeth in our time in their proudest tongue whosoever list. The style must be always plain and open, yet sometime higher and lower, as matters do rise and fall: for if proper and natural words, in well-joined sentences, do lively express the matter, be it troublesome, quiet, angry, or pleasant, a man shall think not to be reading, but present in doing of the same. And herein Livy, of all other in any tongue, by mine opinion, carrieth away the praise.

Sir Thomas More, in that pamphlet of Richard the Third, doth in most part, I believe, of all these points so content all men, as, if the rest of our story of England were so done, we might well compare with France, or Italy, or Germany, in that behalf. But see how the pleasant remembrance of our old talk together hath carried me farther than I thought to go. And as for your request,—to know the cause and manner

of these late stirs here,—you shall not look for such precise order now in writing, as we talked on then. No; it is not all one thing to know perfectly by reading and to perform perfectly in doing. I am not so unadvised to take so much upon me, nor you so unfriendly to look for so much from me. But that you may know that I have not been altogether idle in this my absence, and that I will not come home as one that can say nothing of that he hath seen and heard abroad; I will homely and rudely (yet not altogether disorderly) part privately unto you such note of affairs as I privately marked for myself; which I either felt and saw, or learned in such place and of such persons as had wills to seek for, and ways to come by, and wits to weigh the greatest matters that were to be marked in all these affairs. For no week almost hath past, in the which there hath not commonly come to my hand for the most part of the notable things that have been attempted in Turkey, Hungary, Italy, France, and Germany. In declaring to you these things, I will observe only the first two points of our wont communication: that is, to my writing I will set forward nothing that is false, nor yet keep back any thing that is true. For I, playing no part of no one side, but sitting down as indifferent looker-on, neither Imperial nor French, but flat English, do purpose with truth to report the matter; and seeing I shall live under such a prince as King Edward is, and in such a country as England is (I thank God) I shall have neither need to flatter the one side for profit, nor cause to fear the other side for displeasure. Therefore, let my purpose of reporting the truth as much content you, as the mean handling of the matter may mislike you. Yet speaking thus much of truth, I mean not such a hid

truth as was only in the breast of Monsieur d'Arras on the emperor's side, or in Baron Hadeck on Duke Maurice's side, with whom and with one other of his counsel he only conferred all his purposes three years before he brake out with the emperor; but I mean such a truth as by conference and common consent amongst all the ambassadors and agents in this court, and other witty and indifferent heads beside, was generally conferred and agreed upon. What better commodity to know the truth, any writer in Greek, Latin, or other tongue hath had, I cannot perceive, except only Xenophon, Cæsar, and Philip Comines; which two first worthy writers wrote their own acts so wisely, and so without all suspicion of partiality, as no man hitherto, by my opinion, hath borne himself so uprightly in writing the histories of others; the third, having in a manner the like opportunity, hath not deserved like commendations, at least as I suppose. England hath matter, and England hath men furnished with all abilities to write; who, if they would, might bring both like praise unto themselves, and like profit to others, as these two noble men have done. They lay for their excuse the lack of leisure: which is true in deed: but if we consider the great affairs of Cæsar, we may judge he was worthy to win all praise, that was so willing and witty to win such time, when his head and his hands night and day were ever most full. —Would to God that these our men, as they are ready to praise him, were even as willing to follow him, and so to win like praise themselves.

And to keep you no longer, with my private talk, from the matter itself, I will begin at the spring of the matter from whence all these mischiefs did flow, the which now hath so overflowed the most part of Chris-

tendom, as God only from heaven must make an end of this miserable tragedy, wherein these two great princes take such pleasure still to play. In religion and liberty were said to be of many men the very causes of all these stirs: yet in mine opinion, and as the matter itself shall well prove it, unkindness was the very seed whereof all these troubles did grow. A knight of England, of worthy memory for wit, learning, and experience, old Sir Thomas Wyat, wrote to his son, that the greatest mischief amongst men, and least punished is unkindness: the greatest mischief truly, and least punished also by any ordinary law and sentence: yet, as I have seen here by experience, unkindness hath so wrought with men, as the men were not afraid to attempt their revenge, nor the emperor able to withstand their displeasure. Yea, unkindness was only the hook, which Henry the French king hath used these late years, to pluck from the emperor and draw to himself so many princes and great commodities as he hath: with this hook baited with money, the bait of all mischief, the French king hath not ceased to angle at as many hearts in Italy and Germany as he knew any matter of unkindness to be ministered unto by the emperor.

There be few princes in all the empire but, if I had leisure, I could particularly prove, and when I come home in our private talk I will fully declare, that some good big matter of unkindness hath been offered unto them by the emperor. Yea Ferdinand his brother, Maximilian his nephew and son-in-law, the dukes of Bavaria and Cleves, which have married his nieces, have been shrewdly touched therewith. Also the papistical bishops, as Mentz, Bamberg, Herbipolis, Saltzburg, and divers others, have felt their part herein. Few princes or states, protestants or papists,

but have been troubled therewith. But even as a quartan in the beginning is a wandering disease in the body, unknown what it will turn unto, and yet at last it draweth to certain days and hours; even so these griefs in the whole body of the empire did first work secretly, and not appear openly, until this melancholy unkindness did so swell in men's stomachs, that at length, in Inspruck, it brast [*burst*] out into a shrewd sickness, whereof the first fit was felt to be so dangerous, that if the emperor and we had not more speedily changed the air, I am afraid, and sure I am we were well afraid then, the sickness would have proved also to us that were present with him very contagious.

Well, this grief growing thus to certain fits, and I myself being not greatly grieved at the heart with it, but had leisure enough with small jeopardy (I thank God) to look quietly upon them that were sick; because I would not be idle amongst them, I began daily to note the working of this sickness; and namely, from the 19th of May 1552, when we ran from Inspruck, till the first of next January, when the siege of Metz was abandoned. Nevertheless, before I come to these ordinary days, I will shortly touch how the emperor, being in peace with all the world, 1550, when we came to his court, had soon after so many enemies as he knew not which way to turn him.

THE TURK.

THE date of peace between the emperor and the Turk had to expire an. 1551. The emperor hearing what preparation the Turk had made the year before for war, and especially by sea, which must needs be against Christendom, thought it better for him to end the peace

with some advantage, than that the Turk should begin the war with too much strength: and therefore in summer 1550, he sent John de Vega, viceroy of Sicily, and Andrea Doria, into Barbaria, who won the strong town of Africa [*Tunis*] from Dragut Rayes, some time a pirate, and now the Turk's chief doer in all the affairs of Africa and mare Mediterraneo. This court raised up other rumours of this breach with the Turk: how that this enterprise was made for Seripho's sake, a heathen king, but the emperor's friend in Barbaria, to whom Dragut Rayes had done great wrong. Yet men that knew the truth, and are wont also to say it, have told me that the town of Africa stood so fit to annoy Spain for the Turk, when he list, that the emperor was compelled to seek by all means to obtain it, much fearing, lest, when he was absent in Germany, the Turk would be too nigh and too homely a guest with him in Spain, whensoever the peace should be expired.

The whole story of winning Africa ye may read when you list, being well written in Latin, by a Spaniard that was present at it.

Africa was earnestly required again by the Turk, and fair promised again by the emperor; but being indeed not delivered, the Turk for a revenge the next year, first assaulted Malta, and after won Tripoli, from whence the Turk may easily and suddenly, whensoever he list, set upon Sicily, Naples, or any coast of Italy or Spain, and most commodiously whatsoever the emperor doth hold in Barbary: so that the gain of Africa is thought nothing comparable with the loss of Tripoli.

When Tripoli was besieged by the Turks, Monsieur Daramont was sent ambassador to Constantinople from the French king: and arriving by the way at Malta, he was desired by the great-master of the order to go to

Tripoli, and, for the friendship that was between France and the Turk, to treat for the Christians there. Daramont did so, and had leave of the Turk's general to enter the town and talk with the captain. And by this means they within yielded; on this condition, to part safe with bag and baggage, which was granted by the general. But as soon as the Turks entered the town, they put old and young, man, woman, and child, to the sword; saving two hundred of the strongest men to be their galley-slaves for ever. The general being asked why he kept no promise, made this answer: If the emperor had kept faith with my master for Africa, I would not have broken with them of Tripoli; and therefore (saith he) with Christian men which care for no truth, promises may justly be broken. This Turkish cruelty was revenged this last year in Hungary, when like promise of life was made, and yet all put to the sword, the Christians bidding the Turks remember Tripoli. To such beastly cruelty the noble feats of arms be come unto betwixt the Christian men and the Turks. And one fact of either side is notable to be known, yet horrible to be told and fouler to be followed; and it is pity that man's nature is such as will commonly commend good things in reading, and yet will as commonly follow ill things in doing.

The basha of Buda took in a skirmish a gentleman of the king of the Romans; for whose delivery, men for entreaty, and money for his ransom were sent to Buda. The basha appointed a day to give them answer; and at time and place assigned, called for them, and sent for the gentleman likewise. And suddenly came out two hangmen, bare-armed, with great butcher's knives in their hands, bringing with them certain bandogs muzzled, kept hungry without meat of purpose. The

basha bade them do their feat: who, coming to the gentleman, stripped him naked, and bound him to a pillar; after with their knives they cut off his flesh by gobbets, and flung it to the dogs. Thus the poor gentleman suffered grief, great for the pain, but greater for the spite; nor so tormented in feeling his flesh mangled with knives, as seeing himself piece-meal devoured by dogs. And thus, as long as he felt any pain, they cut him in collops; and after they let their dogs loose upon him to eat up the residue of him, that the grief which was ended in him, being dead, might yet continue in his friends looking on. They were bade depart, and tell what they saw; who, ye may be sure, were in care enough to carry home with them such a cruel message.

Not long after this, three Turks of good estimation and place were taken by the Christian men; for whose ransom great sums of gold were offered. Answer was made to the messenger, that all the gold in Turkey should not save them: And because ye Turks will eat no swine's flesh, you shall see if swine will eat any Turkish flesh. And so likewise great boars were kept hungry, and in sight of the messenger the three Turks were cut in collops and thrown amongst them.

For these foul deeds I am not so angry with the Turks that began them, as I am sorry for the Christian men that follow them. I talked with a worthy gentleman this day both for his great experience and excellent learning, Marc Anthonio d'Anula, ambassador of Venice with the emperor; who told me, that the great Turk himself (religion excepted) is a good and merciful, just and liberal prince, wise in making and true in performing any covenant, and as sore a revenger of truth not kept. He prayed God to keep him long

alive; for his eldest son Mustapha is clean contrary, given to all mischief, cruel, false, getting he careth not how unjustly, and spending he careth not how unthriftily, whatsoever he may lay hand on; wily in making for his purpose, and ready to break for his profit, all covenants; he is weary of quietness and peace, a seeker of strife and war, a great mocker of mean men, a sore oppressor of poor men, openly contemning God, and a bent enemy against Christ's name and Christian men.

But to go forward with my purpose. The Turk being once disclosed an open enemy to the emperor, many mean men began to be the bolder to put out their heads to seek some open remedy for their private injuries; France being at every man's elbow to hearten and to help whosoever had cause to be aggrieved with the emperor. And first, Octavio duke of Parma, much aggrieved, as nature well required, with his father's death, and, besides that, fearing the loss not only of his state but also of his life, fell from the emperor in the end of the year 1550.

Pietro Aloysio Farnesio, (son to Papa Paulo Tertio) duke of Placentia, father to this duke Octavio duke of Parma, which married the emperor's base daughter, and to Horatio duke of Castro, who of late hath married also the French king's base daughter, and the two cardinals Alexandro and Ramusio Farnese, was slain, men say, by the means of Ferranto Gonzaga, governor of Milan, by whose death the state of Placentia, belonging then to the house of Farnesia, came into the emperor's hands. The whole process of this man's death is at length set out in the stories of Italy: my purpose is only to touch it, because hereby rose such a heat betwixt the whole family of Farnesia and Don Ferranto Gonzaga, as hath stirred up such a smoke in Italy

betwixt the emperor and France, as is not like to be quenched but with many a poor man's blood, as Horace noteth wittily out of Homer, saying :—

"What follies so ever great princes make,
The people therefore go to wrake."

Octavio being sorest grieved with his father's death, and being best able to revenge it, was so feared of Gonzaga, that he thought himself never assured for Pietro Louis's death, as long as Octavio his son should live: for men never love when they have just cause to fear, but must needs still mistrust without all hope of reconciling whom they have before hurt beyond all remedy of amends. And yet I heard a gentleman of Milan say (who was sent hither to the emperor by Gonzaga), that Octavio is such a prince for good nature and gentle behaviour, that he supposed there was not one in Italy but did love him, except it were his master Gonzaga. These two princes being neighbours, the one at Milan, the other at Parma, shewed small friendship the one to the other. But Octavio was evermore wrong to the worse by many and sundry spites, but chiefly with daily fear of his life by poisoning : for the which fact certain persons in Parma were taken and laid fast. Nevertheless, Octavio's nature is so far from seeking blood and revenge, and so given to pity and gentleness, that although they went about not only to give away his state by treason, but also to take away his life by poisoning, yea, and after that the deed was proved plainly on them, and sentence of death pronounced openly against them, yet he gave them life and liberty which would have taken both from him.

And when Monsieur Thermes earnestly told him that where the evil were not kept in with fear of justice, the good should never live in surety and quietness : his

answer was, that he so abhorred the shedding of blood in others, as he would never wash his hands in any, let his enemies do to him the worst they could. Adding, that he thought it his most honour to be unlikest such for his gentleness, which were misliked of all men for their cruelty: whereby he hath won that he which of good nature can hurt none, is now of right loved of all, and only hated of him whom no man in Italy for his cruelty doth love. And this talk is so true, that it was told in another language, but in the self same terms, at an honourable table here in Brussels, by a gentleman of Milan, an agent in the court, a doer for Gonzaga, who the same time was prisoner in Parma.

And although Octavio by good nature was harmless in not seeking revenge, yet he was not careless by good reason in seeking his remedy; but made oft and great complaints of his griefs to the emperor, which were not so hotly made, but they were as coldly heard; that at length Octavio finding least comfort where of right he looked for most aid, and seeing that displeasures could not be ended in Gonzaga, nor could not be amended by the emperor; then he, compelled against his nature turned his hate due to Gonzaga to revenge this undeserved unkindness in the emperor, even as Pausanias did with Philip king of Macedonia, who, conquering with policy and power all outward enemies, was slain when and where he thought himself most sure of his dearest friend, for unkindness, because Philip ought and would not revenge Pausanias on him that had done him a foul displeasure.

Octavio seeing what was done to his father, even when his grandfather was bishop of Rome, thought, that now as his house decayed, so his jeopardy increased: and therefore against a desperate evil began to seek for a desperate remedy, which was fet [*fetched*] from

Rome, a shop always open to any mischief, as you shall perceive in these few leaves if you mark them well.

Octavio complained to Julio Terzo of the wrongs of Gonzaga and of the unkindness of the emperor, desiring that by his wisdom and authority he would now succour him, or else not only he should lose his life, but also the church of Rome should lose her right in Parma, as she had done before in Piacentia. The bishop gave good ear to this talk, for he spied that hereby should be offered unto him a fit occasion to set the emperor and France together by the ears. He thought the emperor was too big in Italy, having on the one side of Rome, Naples under his obedience; on the other side Siena, Florence, and Genoa at his commandment, besides Piacentia, Milan, Monteferrato, and a great part of Piedmont.

The emperor being thus strong in Italy, the bishop thought his own state to be his so long as it pleased the emperor to let him have it; and therefore if Parma were not left an entry for France to come into Italy, he might over soon be shut up in present misery, when all outward aid should be shut out from him.

The pope's counsel was, that Octavio should put himself under the French king's protection, whom he knew would most willingly receive him; Parma lying so fit for the French king, whensoever he would set upon the enterprise of Milan. This practice of the Pope, Monsieur de Thermes the French king's ambassador did utter before the consistory of cardinals at Rome; proving that the pope, not the king his master, was the occasion of that war.

When Octavio with the whole house of Farnese became thus French, the emperor, more fearing the state of Milan than lamenting the loss of Octavio, per-

suaded on his side the pope to require Parma as the church's right, and to punish Octavio as the church's rebel, promising that he himself, as an obedient son of the church, would stretch out his arm and open his purse in that recovery of the church's rights: nevertheless the pope must bear the name of the war, because he might not break peace with France. Thus princes openly countenancing quietness, and privily brewing debate, although they got others to broach it, yet God commonly suffereth themselves to drink most of the misery thereof in the end. The bishop, seeing that he must either begin the mischief or else it would not on so fast as he wished to have it, set lustily upon it; and first cited Octavio, after excommunicated him, and shortly after besieged Parma, aided both with men and money by the emperor; which thing the French king began to stomach, thinking that the emperor did offer him both wrong and dishonour, in not suffering him, being a king, to help a poor man that fled to his aid. And thus these two princes, first helping others, began by little and little to fall out themselves. And that the pope did set these two princes together, a pasquil made at Rome and sent to this court doth well declare. And seeing that you so well understand the Italian tongue, and that if it were turned into English it would lose the whole grace thereof, I will recite it in the tongue that it was made in.

Interlocutori PASQUILLO et ROMANO.

Pasq. Hanno un bel gioco il Re e l'Imperatore,
Per terzo il Papa, e giocano a Primera.
Rom. Che v'è l'invito? *Pasq.* Italia tutta intera.
Rom. Chi ve l'ha messa? *Pasq.* Il coglion del pastore.
Rom. Che tien in mano il Re? *Pasq.* Punto maggiore:
Il Papa ha cinquant' uno, e si dispera.

Rom. Cesar che Punto s'ha? *Pasq.* Si sta a Primera.
Rom. Che gli manca? *Pasq.* Danari a far favore
Il Papa dice a voi, e vuol partito:
Cesar pensoso sta sopra di questo,
Teme a scoprir che di trovar non tenta.
Il Re dice, no, no, Scoprite presto,
Che io tengo Punto, a guadagnar l'invito;
I'ho li danari, e Cesar se gli aspetta.

¶ Tutti stanno a vedetta.
Chi di lor dui guadagni. *Rom.* Il Papa? *Pas.* E fuora
Vinca chi vuol, lui perda, in sua malora.

¶ Lo Imperatore ancora
Teme, tien stretto, e scopre pian le carte,
E qui la sorte gioca più che l'arte.

¶ Metti questi in disparte.
Stabilito è nel Ciel quello che esser dé,
Nè giova al nostro dir, questo sarà, questo è.

The French king in the summer, 1551, proclaimed war against Charles king of Spain, abusing that name for a subtlety to separate the whole quarrel from the Empire: when the emperor would not be persuaded at Augsburg that either the Turk would, or the French king durst, make him open war, or that any prince in Italy or Germany could be enticed to break out with him.

Monsieur Mariliac, the French ambassador at Augsburg, even bare the emperor in hand that such rumours of war were raised of displeasure, and that his master intended nothing so much as the continuance of amity; yea this he durst do, when many in the emperor's court knew that the war was already proclaimed in France.

The emperor, blinded with the over-good opinion of his own wisdom, liking only what himself listed, and

contemning easily all advice of others (which self-will condition doth commonly follow, and as commonly doth hurt all great wits), did not only at this time suffer himself thus to be abused; but also afterward more craftily by the pope for the continuance of war at Parma, and more boldly by Duke Maurice for his repair to Inspruck, and not the least of all, now lately at Metz by some of his own counsellors for the recovery of that town. But princes and great personages which will hear but what and whom they list, at the length fail when they would not, and commonly blame whom they should not: but it is well done, that as great men may by authority contemn the good advice of others, so God doth provide by right judgment that they have leave in the end to bear both the loss and shame thereof themselves.

Thus ye see how the pope was both the brewer and broacher and also bringer of ill luck to both these princes; and as it came well to pass, drank well of it himself, both with expenses of great treasures and with the loss of many lives, and especially of two noble gentlemen, the prince of Macedonia and Il Sign. Giovan Baptista di Monte his own nephew. But the pope's care was neither of money nor men, so that he might set the two princes surely together. And therefore he was not only content (as a man might say) to hazard Parma on the main chance; but, to make the two princes better sport and fresher game, set also even then Mirandula on a bye chance, that mischief enough might come together.

When the princes were well in, and the one so lusty with good luck that he had no lust to leave, and the other so chafed with leesing [*losing*] that still he would venture: besides their playing in sport for the pope at

Parma and Mirandula, they fell to it a good themselves in Piedmont, Lorraine, Flanders, and Picardy, the French king robbing by sea and spoiling by land, with calling in the Turk, and stirring up all princes and states that had any occasion to bear any grudge to the emperor. Of all their neighbours, only our noble king and the wise senate of Venice would be lookers-on.

And when the pope saw they were so hot at it, as he well knew as the one would not start in so great good luck, so the other could not leave by so much shame of loss. And although it did him good to see them so lustily together; nevertheless he thought it scarce his surety that they should play so near his elbow so earnestly, lest if they fell too far out, and the one should win too much of the other, then he peradventure would compel at length the pope himself, which began the play, to keep him sport afterward for that that he had in Italy. And therefore very craftily he gat them to play in another place, and took up the game for Parma and Mirandula, taking truce with France for certain years, and bad them make what sport they would further off in Lorraine and Picardy. And that there should lack neither injury nor spite in the pope's doings, when the emperor saw that, whether he would or no, the pope would needs fall in with France, then he desired the pope that such bastillions and forts of fence as were made about Mirandula when it was besieged, might either be delivered to his men's hands, or else defaced, that the Frenchmen might not have them; which request was very reasonable, seeing the emperor had been at all the charge in making of them: but they were neither delivered nor defaced, nor left indifferent, but so put into the Frenchmen's hands, that Mirandula now is made very

strong to the French faction by the emperor's money, and the pope's falsehood.

This fact was very wrongful of the pope for the deed, but more spiteful for the time: for even when Duke Maurice had won Augusta, even then the pope gave up the siege of Mirandula, and fell in with France, that care enough might come upon the emperor together, both out of Germany, and out of Italy at once. And even this day, 25th June, 1553, when I was writing this place, cometh news to Brussels, that the pope hath of new played with the emperor more foul play at Siena, than he did before at Mirandula; for when the emperor had been at passing charges in keeping a great host for the recovery of Siena, from December last unto June, the pope would needs become stickler in that matter between the emperor, the French king, and Siena, promising such conditions to all, as neither of the princes should lose honour, and yet Siena should have had liberties. The emperor, good man, yet again trusting him who so spitefully had deceived him before, dismissed his host; which done, Siena was left still in the Frenchmen's hands; who thereby have such opportunity to fortify it, as the emperor is not like, by force, to recover it. Piramus, secretary to the emperor, told this tale to Sir Philip Hobby and the bishop of Westminster openly at the table, which Piramus is a papist for his life. And being asked how he could excuse the pope's unkindness against his master the emperor; he answered smiling, Julius Tertius is a knave, but the pope is an honest man; which saying is common in this court. And although they well understand both the spite of the pope, and the shame of their master, yet are they content still to speak well of the pope, though he never-

theless still do ill to the emperor. And thus to return to my purpose, how the pope set the two princes together, and stirred his own mark a while out of the halter, leaving mine unfriendly the emperor when he was furthest behind-hand: and how Octavio, for fear of Gonzaga, and unkindness of the Emperor, fell with all his family to be French; I have briefly passed over, for the haste I have to come to the matters of Germany.

THE PRINCE OF SALERNE.

THE emperor being thus set upon by the Turk and France with open war, and wounded by the house of Farnesia with so sudden breaches, and most of all encumbered with the fear of the stirs in Germany, which secretly were then in working; the prince of Salerne also declared himself an open enemy.

This prince in this court is much beloved for his gentleness, and openly praised for his wisdom, and greatly lamented for his fortune, who before-time hath done so good and faithful service to the emperor; that I have heard some of this court say, which love the emperor well, and serve him in good place, that their master hath done the prince so much wrong, as he could do no less than he did; who being so unjustly handled by his enemy, the viceroy of Naples, and so unkindly dealt withal by his master the emperor, was driven by necessity to seek an unlawful shift.

The viceroy Don Petro de Toledo, uncle to the duke of Alva, and father-in-law to the duke of Florence, used himself with much cruelty over the people of Naples, by exactions of money without measure, by inquisition of men's doings without order, and not only

of men's doings, but also of men's outward lookings and inward thinkings, using the least suspicion for a sufficient witness to spoil and to kill whomsoever he listed. Men that had suits unto him, had as lief been away with the loss of their right, as have come to his presence to abide his looks and taunts; and (as I heard a wise gentleman of Italy say) he gave audience in such time and place, as he may easilier in this court speak with Monsieur d'Arras than he could in Naples with the viceroy's porter. And commonly he would not hear them whilst an hundred suitors should come at once, and then the porter let them in by one and by one, even as he favoured, not as the matter required, commanding them to be short, or else they should come short in the next time. And so men's suits were pulled from common law to private will, and were heard not in places open to justice, but in private parlours, shut up to all that came not in by favour or money. And therefore judgments were allotted, not as law appointed, but as the viceroy listed. This fault (Cicero saith) undid Cæsar, who drew the common law into his own house, and so in having other men's goods lost all men's hearts, and not long after his own life; for even those that did help him pluck down Pompey, did after kill him for pulling down the laws. So we see that princes not in gathering much money, nor in bearing overgreat swing, but in keeping of friends and good laws, live most merely, and reign most surely; but such as gape always for other men's goods, commonly never enjoy the fruit of their own; for they never cease to win by wrong, till at length they leese [*lose*] by right goods, life, and all. And therefore it is notable that Dion in Plato writeth to Dionysius the tyrant, how Euripides in every tragedy bringeth for some great vice

one or other great prince to ruin, and yet not one doth complain thus,

Out, out, alas alas, I die for lack of goods;

But every one singeth this song,

Out, out, alas! alas! I die for lack of friends.

For a prince that will take men's goods when he listeth without order, shall want men's hearts when he needeth without pity; but in having their hearts he shall never lack their goods, as the good king Cyrus said to the rich king Crœsus. And to have the people's hearts, the next way is to be gentle to every one, just to all, and liberal to many, and especially to such as either by excellency of wit or good will in true service, do well deserve it. Also to set his chief joy not in private pleasure, like Sardanapalus, but in common wealth, as we have example of Titus Vespasianus: and to think his treasure greatest, not when his coffers be fullest, as Crœsus did, but when his subjects be richest as Cyrus did, and that through his wisdom and care, as all praise-worthy princes have ever hitherto done. And what will the people render again to such a prince? a small subsidy with a great grudge? No, but their whole hearts to love him, their whole goods to aid him; their hands ready to defend him whensoever he shall have need. A prince that thus doth live, and thus is loved at home, may be envied with much praise, and hated with small hurt of any power abroad.

And therefore have I heard wise men discommend the government in France, in making their people almost slaves; and from thence a common saying of some in England, that would have the people neither witty nor wealthy, when wit is the mere gift of God;

so that to wish men less wit that have it, is to count God scarce wise that gave it. And wealth of the people, as Scripture saith, is the glory of a prince and surety of his reign. But suspicion in all governing breedeth such sayings; when wrong doth bear such swing, as ill conscience doth always wish that men should lack either wit to perceive or ability to amend whatsoever is done amiss. But God send such Achitophels better end than their counsels doth deserve, which would seem wise by other men's folly, and would be rich by other men's poverty.

To return to the viceroy of Naples: The common opinion of those in this court which have private cause to say well on him, do speak it boldly and openly, that he was such a one as never could content his covetousness with money, nor never satisfy his cruelty with blood; and so by this foul mean many gentlemen in Naples have lost some their lives, but moe [*more*] their livings, and almost all their liberty. And there be at this day, as men say here that know it, a good sort of thousands Neapolitans, named Foriensuti, who being spoiled at home by violence, rob other abroad for need, which cumber so the passage betwixt Rome and Naples, as no man departeth commonly from Rome without company which cometh to Naples without robbing.

The whole body of the kingdom of Naples was so distempered inwardly with this misorder, with a little outward occasion it would easily have burst forth into a foul sore. A less matter than the ravishing of Lucrece, a meaner aid than the help of Brutus, was thought sufficient to have stirred up this inward grudge to open revenge. But see how God provided for the emperor and the quiet of that kingdom: for God, in

taking away one Spaniard, hath made Naples now more strong, than if the emperor had set 20,000 of the best in Spain there; for even this last Lent, 1553, Don Petro de Toledo died at Florence, by whose going away, men's hearts in Naples be so come again to the emperor, as he shall now have less need either to care for the fine fetches of France, or to fear the great power of the Turk. A gentleman of this court, a true servant to the emperor, said merely in a company where I was, that his master the emperor had won more in Naples by the death of the viceroy, than he had lost in Lorraine by the forging [?] of Metz.

But to my purpose. Not many years ago divers in Naples made their complaint to the prince of Salerne of their griefs, who, it was thought, would be most willing for his good nature, and best able for his authority, to seek some remedy for them by way of intercession to the Emperor.

The prince being here at Brussels, humbly besought his majesty to pity the misery of his poor subjects; who, by this suit, got of the emperor, for his clients, words without hope, and of the viceroy for himself hatred without end. The prince yet always bore himself so wisely, that he could not without some stir be thrust down openly; and riding on his journey, he was once shot with a dagge secretly.

Thus he seeing no end of displeasure in the viceroy, no hope of remedy in the emperor, when he saw the Turk on the sea, the French king in the Field, Duke Maurice and the marquis up, and a good part of Italy either risen or ready to rise, thinking the time come of their most hope for help by the princes, and of least fear of punishment by the emperor, came forth to play his part also amongst the rest; who, when flying

first to the French king, and after, by his counsel, as it is said, to the Turk, is compelled to venture upon many hard fortunes. And what success he shall have, either of help in France, or comfort of the Turk, or mercy of the emperor, I cannot yet write. But this last winter he hath lain in the isle of Cio, and now I hear say this summer, he is on the sea with sixty-three galleys of the Turks at his commandment; what enterprise he will make, or what success he shall have, when we shall hear of the matter, I trust I shall, either by some private letter from hence, or by present talk at home, fully satisfy you therein.

ALBERT MARQUIS OF BRANDENBURGH.

ALBERT Marquis of Brandenburgh, in the beginning of his stir 1552, wrote a book and set it in print, wherein he declared the causes of his falling from the emperor, wittily alleging common misery as a just pretence of his private enterprise, making other men's hurts his remedy to heal his own sores, and common wrongs his way to revenge private displeasures; showing liberty to be lost, and religion to be defaced, in all Germany, lamenting the long captivity of the two great princes, and all the dispossessing of his father-in-law Duke Otto Henrick; sore envying against the pride of the Spaniards, and the authority of strangers, which had now in their hands the seal of the empire, and in their swing the doing of all things, and at their commandment all such men's voices as were to be called the imperial diets; compelling the Germans in their own country to use strange tongues for their private suits,

wherein they could say nothing at all, or nothing to the purpose; using *camera imperialis* at Spires for a common key to open all men's coffers when they listed, and these were the chiefest points in Marquis's book.

The Marquis also sore envied against Luis de Avila for writing, and against the emperor for suffering, such a book as Luis de Avila wrote; wherein the honour of Germany and the princes thereof, and by name Marquis Albert, who was in the first wars on the emperor's side, was so defamed to all the world; yea, the marquis was so thoroughly chafed with this book, that when I was in the emperor's court, he offered the combat with Luis de Avila, which the emperor, for good will and wise respects, would in no case admit.

Not only the marquis, but also the princes at the diet of Passau this last year, made a common complaint of this book. I knew also the good old prince Frederick Palsgrave of the Rhine, in September last, when the emperor lay at Landau beside Spires, going with his great army to Metz, complained to the emperor himself, and to his council, of a certain spiteful place in that book against him; the good prince told me this tale himself at his house in Heldiburg, when I carried unto him King Edward's letters, the lord ambassador himself being sick at Spires.

And wise men say that the duke of Bavaria also is evil contented for that which is written in that book against his father, when he deserved of the Imperials to have been rewarded rather with praise and thanks than with any unkind note of blame and dishonour; of whom the emperor in his wars against the landgrave of Hesse and the duke of Saxony received such kindness, as no prince in Germany for all respects in that case was able to afford him; as first, he had his

whole country of Bavaria for a sure footing-place to begin the war in; and had also both men and victuals of him what he would, and at length should have had that country his only refuge, if that in war he had come to any underdele, as he was like enough to have done. But it was God's secret will and pleasure to have the matter then go as it did; and for that cause men say duke Albert of Bavaria that now is, that hath married the emperor's niece, was more strange this last year to the emperor, when he was driven to that extremity to fly away in the night from Inspruck, and was more familiar with Duke Maurice, and more friendly to the princes confederate, than else peradventure he would have been.

And here a writer may learn of princes' affairs a good lesson, to beware of partiality, either in flattery or spite; for although thereby a man may please his own prince presently, yet he may perchance as much hurt him in the end, as Luis de Avila did hurt the emperor his master in writing of this book.

Indeed this book was not the chiefest cause of this stir in Germany; but sure I am that many princes in Germany were sore aggrieved with it, as the emperor wanted both their hearts and their hands when he stood in most need of friends.

Just reprehension of all vices, as folly, unjust dealing, cowardice, and vicious living, must be freely and frankly used, yet so with that moderate discretion, as no purposed malice or bent hatred may seem to be the breeder of any false reproach, which humour of writing followeth so full in Paulus Jovius's books, and that by that judgement of his own friends, as I have heard wise and well-learned men say, that his whole study and purpose is spent on these points, to deface the

emperor, to flatter France, to spite England, to belie Germany, to praise the Turk, to keep up the pope, to pull down Christ and Christ's religion, as much as lieth in him. But to my purpose again.

The matters before of me briefly rehearsed, were at large declared in Marquis Albert's book; yet, that you may know what secret working went before this plain writing and open doing, and because the marquis's part hath been so notable in all this pastime, I will, by more particular circumstances, lead you to this general complaint.

There be at this day five marquisses of Brandenburgh: Joachimus Elector, Johannes his brother, who, for civil service, is imperial with might and main, and yet in religion a Christian prince, with heart, tongue, and honesty of life: Doctor Christopher Monte, both a learned and wise man, our king's majesty's servant, and his agent in the affairs of Germany, hath told me divers times that this Marquis John and the duke of Swaburg be two of the worthiest princes in all the empire, either in considering wisely, or executing courageously, any great affair. The third is Marquis George, who dwelleth in Franconia, not far from Nuremberg. The fourth Marquis Albert the elder, the mighty duke of Prussia, able, for his power, to cope with any prince, and fifteen years together he did stoutly withstand, in continual war, the strength of the King of Pole. He hath so fully banished papistry, and so surely established the doctrine of the Gospel in Prussia, as no where hitherto in Germany is more diligently done; he loveth learning and honoureth learned men; and therefore anno 1544 he founded a new university in Prussia, called Mons Regius, bringing thither, with plentiful things, excellent learned men in all tongues and sciences. He

is uncle to this notable marquis Albert, and lacking children hath made him his heir, and hath already invested him in the dukedom of Prussia. The fifth is Marquis Albert, of whom I purpose to write on; whose father was Casimirus, descended from the kings of Pole; and, for his nobleness against the Turk, called Achilles Germanicus; and therefore might very well engender such a hot Pyrrhus. Marquis Albert, in his young years, as I have heard wise men say, was rude in his manners, nor did not show any token of towardness likely to attempt any such affairs as indeed he hath done. It might be either for the lack of learning and good bringing up (a great and common fault in great princes of Germany) or else for his bashful nature in youth, which property Xenophon wittily feigned to be in Cyrus at like years, judging bashfulness in youth to be a great token of virtue in age.

Marquis Albert is now at this day about thirty-one years old; of a good stature, neither very high nor very low, thick without grossness; rather well-boned for strength, than overloaded with flesh; his face fair, beautiful, broad, stern, and manly; somewhat resembling my Lord Marquis of Northampton, when he was of the same years; his eyes great and rolling, making his countenance cheerful when he talketh; and yet when he giveth ear to other, he keepeth both a sad look without sign of suspicion, and also a well-set eye without token of malice; and this behaviour I marked well in him when I dined in his company at the siege of Metz, in the County John of Nassau's tent: his voice is great, and his words not many, more ready to hear other than to talk himself. And when he talketh he so frameth his tongue to agree with heart, as speaking

and meaning seemeth to be always at one in him; and herein he may be well called the son of Achilles, whom Homer wittily doth feign to have such a free open nature; whose saying in Greek is excellent, but being turned in the wrong side into English, it shall less delight you, yet thus much it signifieth—

> Who, either in earnest or in sport,
> Doth frame himself after such sort,
> This thing to think, and that to tell,
> My heart abhorreth as gate to hell.—*Homer.*

Meaning hereby that a prince of noble courage should have his heart, his look, his tongue, and his hands so always agreeing together, in thinking, pretending, and speaking, and doing, as no one of these four should at any time be at jar with another; which, agreeing together in their right tune, do make a pleasant melody in all men's ears both sweetest and loudest, called in English *Honour*, and most fitly in Greek τιμη, the price and praise of virtue.

And though the marquis be free to say what he thinketh, yet he is both secret in purposing and close in working whatsoever he goeth about. Now very skilful to do harm to others, and as ware to keep hurt from himself, yet first beat unto it with his own rod; for in the former wars of Germany, being on the emperor's side, he fell into the hands of Duke John Frederick of Saxony, which chance he is charged sore withall by Luis de Avila, and that with so spiteful and open a mouth, as moved the marquis to offer him the combat, as I said before. He is now most courageous in hardest adventures, most cheerful in present jeopardy, and most painful in greatest labours, having no soldier under him that can better away with heat and cold, or longer suffer hunger and thirst than he himself. His

apparel is soldier-like, better known by his fierce doings than by his gay going; his soldiers fear him for his stoutness, and love him for his liberality; which winneth to him authority fit for a stout captain, and worketh in them obedience due to good soldiers.

This last year, a little before his agreement with the emperor, his soldiers, for lack of money and meat, fell to mutinying, and then fell the marquis fastest to hanging, not hiding himself for fear, but coming abroad with courage, did protest that neither the proudest should make misorder without punishment, nor yet the poorest should lack, as long as either he had penny in his purse or loaf of bread in his tent. And after this sort of outward behaviour and inward condition in Marquis Albert, as I have marked his person myself, and as I have learned his doings by such as by experience knew them well, and for their honesty would report them right; and now how he fell from the emperor, I will as briefly declare.

The marquis served the emperor, as I said before, in the former wars in Germany, against the landgrave and the duke of Saxony, where he lost some honour, and spent much money. The emperor shortly after came down hither to Brussels, having the marquis in his company, who, looking for a great recompense of his costs, and receiving little, and seeing his honour not only defaced in the field presently when he was taken prisoner, but also defamed for ever by writing, confirmed by the emperor's privilege to go abroad in the world, began to take the matter so unkindly, that he left coming to the court, and kept his own house, rising every day very early; and writing all the forenoon very diligently, yet what he did no man knew; so that his absence bred a talk in the court, and his

sudden and secret study wrought a wonderful jealousy of his doings in the emperor's head: for he knew the marquis to have courage enough to attempt matters over great; and therefore sent Monsieur Granville unto the marquis's house, as of himself, to grope out his doings, who declared unto the marquis the emperor's great good will towards him, showing that his majesty was purposed to make him a great personage, and, to begin withal, had in mind to give him a goodly and profitable office in all his mints.

The marquis answered roundly and plainly to the first, that the emperor could not make him greater than he was, being marquis of Brandenburgh; and, as for the office in the mint, he said, smiling, he used not often to tell his own money, and therefore he thought not to make the account of others'; and so made nothing of the emperor's offer; only he desired Granville that the emperor would give him leave to go home to his own, which he obtained; and, at his departure, the emperor gave him a patent of 4000 crowns by the year: but the marquis was not well four miles out of Brussels, when he sent the patent by post to the emperor again, saying, his majesty might better bestow it on some that had more need of it. And indeed the marquis is as loath to receive of his friends by benevolence, as he is ready to take from his enemies by violence, which cometh somewhat of too stout a courage.

Thus the marquis came home, not best contented, as it may well appear, nor saw not the emperor after till he met him at the siege of Metz. Casimirus, his father, and the marquis himself were great spenders and deep debtors; the one for his stoutness in war, the other for his lustiness in youth; and therefore became

quick borrowers and slow payers, which thing brought the marquis into such trouble as he had with the city of Nuremberg, with his neighbour the bishop of Herbipolis, and with his godfather the bishop of Bamberg.

The marquis was no sooner come home, but these bishops spying their time, when he had left the emperor's court, and had quite lost or much lessened his friendship there, began to trouble him with new suits for old debts in Camera Imperiali at Spires, where the marquis, because he lacked either favour in the court, or experience in young years, or good matter on his side, was always wrong to the worst; and to stuff up his stomach with more matter of unkindness against the emperor, it is said, that letters from the greatest in the emperor's court were never lacking at Spires to help forward process against the marquis.

Shortly after this time began the siege of Magdeburg, where Duke Maurice, by the emperor, was appointed general. The marquis, either weary of losing at home by suits, or desirous to win abroad by war, or else purposing to practise some way to revenge his displeasures, made him ready to serve against Magdeburg with 500 horse. And in the beginning of the spring of the year 1551, he set forward, and in his way went to visit Ernestus, his cousin, duke of Saxony, brother to John Frederick, then prisoner with the emperor. The selfsame time Lazarus Swendy was sent from the emperor as commissary to Duke Ernestus, with earnest commandment that the duke and all his should receive the doctrine of the Interim. And (that I may accomplish my purpose, which is to paint out as truly as I can, by writing, the very image of such persons as have played any notable part in these affairs, and so you,

being absent, shall with some more pleasure read their doings) this Lazarus Swendy is a tall and a comely personage, and being brought up in learning under Œcolampadius at Basil, making (as it was told me by an honest man that was thoroughly acquainted with him there) more account of his tall stature than of any beauty of the mind, began to be weary of learning, and became desirous to bear some brag in the world, and so made a soldier, marred a scholar; and because he would make a lusty change from the fear of God and knowledge of Christ's doctrine, he fell to be a perverse and bloody papist: ever at hand in any cruel execution against the poor protestants, as commonly all such do which so wittingly shake off Christ and his gospel. Such a commissary, you may be sure, would cruelly enough execute his office. Duke Ernestus told the commissary that he, his lands and life, were at his majesty's commandment: his majesty knew how quietly he bore himself always, and therefore his trust was, as he willingly served the emperor with true obedience, so he might as freely serve God with right conscience; for he would rather leave his lands and goods and all to the emperor, and go beg with his wife and children, than they would forsake the way of the gospel, which God hath commanded them to follow.

And mark how evidently God did declare both how much such a commission sent out abroad in Germany against him and his word did displease him; and also how much the prayers and sighing hearts of just men do in time prevail with him; for as a man of much honesty and great knowledge in all the matters of Germany did tell me, as soon as this commission was once abroad, the practices in Germany began to stir, yet not so openly as the emperor might have just cause

to withstand them, nor so covertly, but he had occasion enough to mistrust them; and thereby he both lacked help for open remedy, and wanted no displeasure for inward grief.

Duke Ernestus, Marquis Albert, and Lazarus Swendy, sat at supper together; and as they were talking of the Interim, the marquis suddenly burst out into a fury, saying, "What the devil! will the emperor never leave striving with God, in defacing true religion, and tossing the world, in debarring all men's liberties?" adding, that he was a prince unkind to every man, and kept touch with no man, that could forget all men's merits, and would deceive whomsoever he promised.

The duke liked not this hot talk in his house and at his table, but said, "Cousin, you speak but merely, and not as you think," adding much in the praise of the emperor's gentleness showed to many, and of his promise kept with all. "Well, (quoth the marquis) if he had been either kind where men had deserved, or would have performed that he promised, neither should I at this time accuse him, nor you have sat here in this place to defend him; for he promised to give me this house, with all the lands that thereto belongeth: but ye be afraid, cousin, (quoth the marquis) lest this talk be too loud, and so heard too far off; when indeed, if the commissary here be so honest a man as I take him, and so true to his master as he should be, he will not fail to say what he hath heard; and on the same condition, commissary, I bring thee good luck;" and drank off unto him a great glass of wine. Lazarus Swendy's talk then sounded gently and quietly, for he was sore afraid of the marquis. But he was no sooner at home with the emperor, but word was sent strait to

Duke Maurice, that the marquis, who was as then come to Magdeburg, if he would needs serve there, should serve without wages.

Ye may be sure the marquis was chafed anew with this news, who already had lost a great sort of his men, and now must lose his whole labour thither, and all his wages there, besides the loss of his honour in taking such shame of his enemies, and receiving such unkindness of the emperor.

The marquis was not so grieved, but Duke Maurice was as well contented with this commandment; for even then was Duke Maurice's secretary practising, by Baron Heideck's advice, with the French king for the stir which did follow; and therefore was glad when he saw the marquis might be made his so easily, which came very soon to pass; so that the marquis, for the same purpose, in the end of the same year, went into France secretly, and was there with Shertly as a common lance knight, and named himself Captoin Paul, lest the emperor's spials should get out his doings; where, by the advice of Shertly, he practised with the French king for the wars which followed after. This matter was told unto me by John Mecardus, one of the chief preachers in Augsburg, who being banished the empire, when and how ye shall hear after, was fain to fly, and was with Shertly the same year in France.

The marquis came out of France in the beginning of the year 1552, and out of hand gathered up men, but his purpose was not known; yet the emperor mistrusting the matter, being at Insburg, sent Doctor Hasius, one of his council, to know what cause he had to make such stir. This Doctor Hasius was once an earnest protestant, and wrote a book on that side, and was one of the Palsgrave's privy-council; but, for hope

to climb higher, he was very ready to be enticed by the emperor to forsake first his master and then God; by whom the emperor knew much of all the protestant princes' purposes, for he was commonly one whom they had used in all their diets and private practices; which thing caused the emperor to seek to have him; that, by his head he might the easilier overthrow the protestants, and with them, God and his word in all Germany.

This man is very like M. Parrie, her grace's cofferer, in head, face, legs, and belly. What answer Hasius had I cannot tell; but sure I am the marquis then both wrote his book of complaints against the emperor, and set it out in print. And also came forward with banner displayed, and took Dillying upon Danube, the cardinal of Augustus town, which cardinal, with a few priests, fled in post to the emperor at Insburg, where he found so cold cheer, and so little comfort, that forthwith in all haste he posted to Rome.

Horsemen and footmen in great companies still gathered to the marquis; and in the end of March he marched forward to Augsburg, where the Duke Maurice, the young landgrave, the duke of Mecklenburgh, George and Albert, with William duke of Brunswick, and other princes confederate, met together and besieged that city, where I will leave the marquis till I have brought Duke Maurice and his doings to the same time and to the same place.

DUKE MAURICE.

NOT many years ago, while Saxony was chiefly under two princes; the one Duke John Frederick, born elector, who yet liveth, defender of Luther, a noble setter out, and as true a follower of Christ and his gospel;

the other his kinsman, Duke George, who is dead, knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, a great man of the emperor, a maintainer of Cochlæus, and a notable pillar of papistry.

Duke John Frederick is now fifty years of age, so big of personage as a very strong horse is scarce able to bear him, and yet is he a great deal bigger in all kind of virtues, in wisdom, justice, liberality, stoutness, temperancy in himself, and humanity towards others, in all affairs and either fortunes using a singular truth and stedfastness: so that Luis de Avila, and the secretary of Ferrara, who wrote the story of the first wars in Germany, and profess to be his earnest enemies both for matters of state and also of religion, were so compelled by his worthiness to say the truth, as though their only purpose had been to write his praise. He was five years prisoner in this court, where he won such love of all men, as the Spaniards now say, they would as gladly fight to set him up again, as ever they did to pull him down; for they see that he is wise in all his doings, just in all his dealings, lowly to the meanest, princely with the biggest, and excelling gentle to all, whom no adversity could ever move, nor policy at any time entice, to shrink from God and his word. And here I must needs commend the secretary of Ferrara, who being a papist, and writing the history of the late wars in Germany, doth not keep back a goodly testimony of Duke Frederick's constancy toward God and his religion.

When the emperor had taken the duke prisoner, he came shortly after before the city of Wittemberg; and being advised by some bloody counsellors that Duke Frederick's death should, by the terror of it, turn all the protestants from their religion, caused a writ to be

made for the duke to be executed the next morning upon a solemn scaffold, in the sight of his wife, children, and the whole city of Wittemberg.

This writ, signed with the emperor's own hand, was sent over-night to the duke, who, when the writ came unto him, was in his tent playing at chess with his cousin and fellow-prisoner, the landgrave of Lithenberg, and reading it advisedly over, laid it down quietly beside, and made no countenance at all at the matter, but said, "Cousin, take good heed to your game;" and returning to his play as quietly as though he had received some private letter of no great importance, did give the landgrave a trim mate.

The emperor (I doubt not) chiefly moved by God, secondly of his great wisdom and natural clemency, when he understood his marvellous constancy, changed his purpose, and revoked the writ; and ever after gave him more honour, and showed him more humanity, than any prince that ever I have read of hath hitherto done to his prisoner.

He is also such a lover of learning, as his library, furnished with books of all tongues, and sciences, passeth all other libraries which are yet gathered in Christendom; for my friend Hieronymus Wolfius, who translated Demosthenes out of Greek into Latin, who had seen the French king's library at Augsburg, hath told me that though in six months he was not able only to write out the titles of the books in the Fugger's library, yet was it not so big as Duke Frederick's was which he saw in Saxony. I think he understandeth no strange tongue save somewhat the Latin and a little the French; and yet it is marvellous that my friend Johannes Sturmius doth report by writing, what he heard Philip Melancthon at a time say of this noble

duke; that he thought the duke did privately read and write more every day than did both he and D. Aurifaber, which two were counted in all men's judgment to be the greatest readers and writers in all the university of Wittemberg.

And as he doth thus read with such diligence, even so he can report with such a memory whatsoever he doth read, and namely histories, as at his table on every new occasion he is accustomed to recite some new story, which he doth with such pleasure and utterance, as men be content to leave their meat to hear him talk; and yet he himself is not disdainful to hear the meanest, nor will overthwart any man's reason. He talketh without taunting, and is merry without scoffing, deluding no man for sport, nor nipping no man for spite.

Two kinds of men, as his preachers did tell me at Villacho, he will never long suffer to be in his house; the one a common mocker, who for his pride thinketh so well of his own wit as his most delight is to make other men fools, and where God of his providence hath given small wit, he for his sport will make it none, and rather than he should lose his pleasure, he would another should loose his wit; as I hear say was once done in England, and that by the sufferance of such as I am sorry, for the good will I bear them, to hear such a report; the other a privy whisperer, a pickthank, a tale-teller, meddling so with other men's matters, as he findeth no leisure to look to his own; one such in a great house is able to turn and toss the quietness of all. Such two kind of men, saith the duke, besides the present troubling of others, never or seldom come to good end themselves. He loveth not also bold and thick-skinned faces, wherein the meaning of the heart

doth never appear. Nor such hid talk as lieth in wait for other men's wits. But would, that words should be so framed with the tongue, as they be always meant in the heart.

And therefore the duke himself thinketh nothing which he dare not speak, nor speaketh nothing which he will not do. Yet having thoughts grounded upon wisdom, his talk is always so accompanied with discretion, and his deeds so attend upon true dealing, as he neither biteth with words, nor wringeth with deeds, except impudency follow the fault, which Xenophon wittily calleth the furthest point in all doing, and then he useth to speak home; as he did to a Spaniard this last year at Villacho, who being of the duke's guard, when he was prisoner, and now pleasing to sit at his table when he was at liberty, because many nobles of the court came that day to dine with the duke, the gentleman usher gently desired the Spaniard to spare his room for that day for a great personage; but he, countenancing a brave Spanish brag, said, "Seignor, ye know me well enough," and so sat him down. The duke heard him, and preventing his man's answer, said, "Indeed you be too well known, by the same token the last time you were here you took a goblet away with you, and therefore when you have dined you may go without farewell, and have leave to come again when ye be sent for. In the mean while an honest man may occupy your place."

But in remembering so good a prince I have gone too far from my matter; and yet the remembrance of him is never out of place, whose worthiness is never to be forgotten.

Duke George of Saxony, a little before he died, having no child, did disinherit Duke Henry his brother

by his last will, because he was a Protestant, and gave away his whole inheritance to Ferdinand king of the Romans.

But Duke John Frederick, by force of arms, set and kept his cousin Duke Henry in his right; and he dying soon after, left behind him two sons, Duke Maurice and Duke Augustus, who likewise in their youth were defended in their right by the wisdom and force of Duke John Frederick. Duke Maurice was brought up in Duke John Frederick's house, as if he had been his own son, and married the landgrave's daughter.

After, it came to pass that the emperor attempted to establish papistry in Germany with the sword, against which purpose the landgrave and Duke John Frederick armed themselves: not to resist the emperor, as the papists say, but to keep God's religion up, if any by violence would pull it down, refusing never, but requiring always to refer them and their doctrine to a lawful and free general council, where truth and religion might be fully tried in the hearing of even and * equal judges, and that by the touchstone of God's canonical scriptures.

Duke Maurice, in the beginning of his war, was suspected, neither of the landgrave nor of Duke Frederick, being son-in-law to the one and nigh kinsman to the other, and agreeing in religion with both. Yea, he was not only not suspected, but as I heard skilful men say, he was ready with his counsel, and promised his aid, to help forward the enterprise; or else Hans Frederick, being a prince of such wisdom, would not have left at home behind him an enemy of such a force.

* Ἐπ' ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις, words always used in Thucydides in deciding common controversies.

Francisco, Duke Maurice's agent with the emperor, was asked, I being by at Augsburg, how he could excuse his master's unkindness towards John Frederick who had been such a father unto him. He granted that Duke Frederick, who had been a great friend unto him, and might have been a greater if he had would, and then less strife had followed than did. "And truth it is, (said he,) as Duke Frederick kept my master in his right, so afterward he put him from part of his right, when in his young years he chopped and changed lands with him when he listed; which thing my master, coming to man's estate, much misliked, and oft complaining, could never obtain remedy therein. Kindness should rather have kindly increased, than so unkindly have decayed; especially when the one was trusted withal, and the other of such years, as he had neither wit to perceive, nor power to amend, if any injury were offered unto him. Truth also it is, that my master was brought up in Duke Frederick's house; but he hath more cause to complain on them that brought him thither, than to thank such as brought him up there, where he had always plenty of drink, and as much scant of good teaching to come to such virtue and learning as did belong to a prince of his state."

Now, whether this talk was altogether true, or an ill excuse was made to cover a foul fact, I cannot tell; but sure I am Francisco said thus. I have heard wise men say, that it is not like, that for such a private strife Duke Maurice would have so forsaken not only his friend and kinsman, but also his father-in-law, or would for the loss of a little, or rather for the change of a piece, have so hazarded his whole estate, which was once in the first war all gone save Lipsia, and one other town, beside the loss of love in whole Germany,

and his good name amongst all Protestants, in the midst of whom all his livings do lie.

Well, surely there was some great cause that could stir up so great a strife; and that was, as wise men and well willing on Duke Maurice's side, in mine opinion, have truly judged, the foul vice of ambition.

O Lord! how many worthy men hath this one vice bereft from good common-weals, which for all other respects were most unworthy of that end they came unto! My heart weeps for those noble men of England, whose valiantness in war, whose wisdom in peace, this realm shall want and wail, and wish for in time to come, which of late, by this only vice, have been taken from us. Examples, less for our grief, and as fit for this purpose, be plenty enow in other states.

Over-many experiences do teach us, though a prince be wise, stout, liberal, gentle, merciful, and excellently learned; though he deserve all the praise that virtue, nature, and fortune can afford him, yea, that wit itself can wish for, as we read that noble Julius Cæsar had, and that by the testimony of those that loved him not; nevertheless, if these two foul verses of Euripides,

> Do right alway, and wrong refrain,
> Except only for rule and reign:—

If these verses, I say, do not only sound well in his ear, but sink deep also in his heart, surely there is neither kindred, friendship, law, oath, obedience, country, God, nor his own life, but he will hazard to lose all, rather than to pursue this foul vice: for Polynices, for whom this verse was first made in Greek, did fill not only his own country full of dead carcasses, but also whole Greece full of weeping widows. And Cæsar, for whom the same verse was turned into Latin, did not only turn upside down the goodliest common-

wealth that ever God suffered to stand upon the earth; but also tossed the whole world with battle and slaughter, even almost from the sun-setting unto the sun-rising: and did not stop to bring soldiers to do mischief further than any man now dare journey by land either for pleasure or profit.

But see the fruit and end which this ungodly great-growing bringeth men unto: both these princes were slain, the one by his brother, the other by his own son, of whom in life, nature and benefits would they should have taken most comfort of. But men that love to climb too high have always least fear, and therefore by reason fall most suddenly, and also furthest down; yea, the very boughs that helped him up will now whip him in falling down; for whoso in climbing trusteth when he is going up any bough at all overmuch, though he seem to tread never so surely upon it, yet if he once begin to slip, the selfsame bough is readiest to beat him that seemed before surest to bear him. Examples hereof be seen daily, and forgotten hereby.

Another mischief chanceth commonly to these high climbers; that they will hear no man so gladly as such which are ever heartening them to climb still. If wise and good men durst speak more freely than they do, great men should do both others and themselves less harm than they are wont to do. He hateth himself, and hasteth his own hurt, that is content to hear none so gladly as either a fool or a flatterer. A wonderful folly in a great man himself, and some piece of misery in a whole commonwealth, where fools chiefly and flatterers may speak freely what they will, and wise men and good men shall commonly be shent, if they speak what they should.

And how cometh this to pass: it is the very plague of God for great men's sins, and the plain highway to their just punishment. And when God suffereth them so willingly to grant freedom to folly, and so gladly to give hearing to flattery; but see when the great man is gone and hath played his part, fools and flatterers be still upon the stage. Such live in all worlds, such laugh in all miseries: such Davi and Getæ have always the longest parts; and go out who shall, they tarry in place still. I know also many a good Mitio, which have played long parts, whom I pray God keep long still upon the stage. And I trust no man will be miscontent with my general saying, except conscience do prick him of his own private ill-doing.

There be commonwealths where freedom in speaking truth hath kept great men from boldness in doing ill; for free and friendly advice is the trimmest glass that any great man can use to spy his own fault in; which taken away, they run commonly so far in foul doing, as some never stay till they pass all remedy, save only too late repentance. And as I would have no flattery, but wish for freedom; so in no wise do I commend overmuch boldness, or any kind of railing. But that liberty in speaking should be so mingled with goodwill and discretion, as no great person should be unhonourably spoken upon, or any mean man touched out of order, either for sport or spite; as some unquiet heads, never contented with any state, are ever procuring either secretly with railing bills, or openly with taunting songs, or else some scoffing common play.

Another kind of too bold talkers surpass all these silly rumourers, who are called, and so will be, common discoursers of all princes' affairs. These make a great account of themselves, and will be commonly

foremost in any praise, and lustily without blushing shoulder back others: these will needs seem to see further in any secret affair than the best and wisest counsellor a prince hath. These be the open flatterers and privy mislikers of all good counsellor's doings. And one common note, the most part of this brotherhood of discoursers commonly carry with them where they be bold to speak: to like better Tully's offices than St. Paul's epistles, and a tale in Bocace than a story of the Bible; and therefore for any religion earnest setters forth of present time; with consciences confirmed with Machiavel's doctrine, to think, say, and do, whatsoever may serve best for profit or pleasure.

But as concerning flatterers and railers, to say mine opinion whether I like worse; surely as I have read few men to have been hurt with bitter poisons, so have I heard of as few great men to have been greatly harmed with sharp talk; but they are so ware therein, that commonly they will complain of their hurt before they feel harm. And flattery again is so sweet, that it pleaseth best when it hurteth most: and therefore is always to be feared, because it always delighteth. But in looking aside to these high climbers, I have gone out of the way of mine own matter.

To return to Duke Maurice. He saw that duke Frederick's falling might be his rising, and perchance was moved with some old injuries; but being of young years, and of nature full of desire and courage, he was a trim prey for old practisers, to be easily carried away with fair new promises sounding altogether to honour and profit, and so he forsook his father and his friend, and became wholly the emperor's, till he had brought both them into prison. Duke Frederick was taken in the field, and so became the emperor's just prisoner.

Yet as long as the landgrave was abroad, the emperor thought his purpose never achieved, and therefore practised anew with Duke Maurice to get him also into his hands.

Duke Maurice, with Joachim marquis of Brandenburg became means betwixt the landgrave and the emperor. Conditions both of mercy from the one, and of amends from the other, were drawn out. Maurice and the marquis bound themselves sureties to the landgrave's children, for their father's safe return: for among the rest of conditions this was one of the chiefest, that he should come in no prison. And so at Hala in Saxony, he came boldly to the emperor's presence, who received him not very cheerfully, nor gave him not his hand, which in Germany is the very token of an assured reconciliation.

The duke of Alva made the landgrave a supper, and called also thither Duke Maurice, and the marquis of Brandenburg, where they had great cheer; but after supper, it was told Duke Maurice and the marquis that they might depart, for the landgrave must lodge there that night.

On the morrow, they reasoned of the matter wholly to this purpose, that the emperor's promises not the landgrave's person ought to be kept. Answer was made, that the emperor went no further than conditions led him; which were, that he should not be kept in everlasting prison: and they again replied he ought to be kept in no prison. When I was at Villacho in Carinthia, I asked Duke Frederick's preacher what were the very words in Dutch, whereby the landgrave against his looking was kept in prison. He said the fallacion was very pretty and notable, and took his pen and wrote in my book the very words wherein the very controversy stood; Duke Maurice said it was,

Nicht in einig gefengknes, i.e., Not in any prison. The imperials said no, but thus;

Nicht in ewig gefengknes, i.e., Not in everlasting prison. And how soon *einig* may be turned into *ewig*, not with scrape of knife, but with the least dash of a pen, so that it shall never be perceived, a man that will prove may easily see.

Moreover, Louis d'Avila in his book doth rejoice that the landgrave did so deceive himself with his own conditions, in making of which, as D'Avila saith, he was wont to esteem his own wit above all other men's. Well, howsoever it came to pass, the Landgrave was kept in prison. And from that hour duke Maurice fell from the emperor, thinking himself most unkindly handled, that he, by whose means chiefly the emperor had won such honour in Saxony, must now be rewarded with shame in all Germany, and be called a traitor to God, and his country, his father, and his friend. And though he was grieved inwardly at the heart, yet he bare all things quietly in countenance, purposing though he had lost will, yet would he not lose his profit; and so hiding his hurt presently, whilst some fitter time should discover some better remedy, he went with the emperor to Augusta, where, according to his promise, he was made elector. Yet, the same night after his solemn creation, two verses set upon his gate might more grieve him, than all that honour could delight him, which were these:

Seu dux, seu princeps, seu tu dicaris elector,
Maurici, es patriæ proditor ipse tuæ.

After that he had gotten that he looked for, he gat him home into his country, from whence afterward the emperor with no policy could ever bring him; he always alleging the fear he had of some stir by Duke Frederick's children.

Hitherto the Germans much misliked the doings of Duke Maurice. But after that he had felt himself so unkindly abused, as for his good service to be made the betrayer of his father, he took such matters in hand, and brought them so to pass, as he recovered the love of his country, and purchased such hate of his enemies, as the Spaniards took their displeasure from all other, and bestowed wholly upon Duke Maurice; and yet he bare himself with such wit and courage against them, as they had always cause to fear him, and never occasion to contemn him: yea, if he had lived, he would sooner, men think, have driven all Spaniards out of Germany, than they should have hurt him in Saxony; for he had joined unto him such strength, and there was in him such policy, as they durst never have come upon him with power, nor never should have gone beyond him with wit. He had so displeased the emperor, as he knew well neither his lands nor his life could make amends, when ten pounds of benefits which he was able to do could not weigh with one ounce of displeasure that he had already done; and therefore never after sought to seek his love which he knew could never be gotten; but gave himself wholly to set up Maximilian, who being himself of great power, and of all other most beloved for his worthiness in all Germany, and now using the head and hand of Duke Maurice and his friends, and having the help of as many as hated the Spaniards, that is to say, almost all protestants and papists too in Germany, he should easily have obtained whatsoever he had gone about. But that bond is now broken; for even this day, when I was writing this place, came word to this court, that Marquis Albert and Duke Maurice had fought, where the marquis had lost the field, and

Duke Maurice had lost his life; which whole battle, because it is notable, I would here at length describe, but that I should wander too far from my purposed matter; and therefore I in another place, or else some other with better opportunity, shall at large report the matter.

Ye see the cause why, and the time when, Duke Maurice fell from the emperor. And because he was so notable a prince, I will describe also the manner how he proceeded in all these doings, as I learned amongst them that did not greatly love him. And because it were small gain to flatter him that is gone, and great shame to lie upon him that is dead, for pleasing any that be alive, I so will report on him as his doings since my coming to this court have deserved.

He was now of the age of thirty-two years, well-faced; in countenance, complexion, favour, and beard, not much unlike to Sir Ralph Sadler, but some deal higher, and well and strong made to bear any labour and pain. He was once (men say) given to drinking, but now he had clean left it, contented with small diet and little sleep in these last years, and therefore had a waking and working head; and became so witty and secret, so hardy and ware, so skilful of ways, both to do harm to others, and keep hurt from himself, as he never took enterprise in hand wherein he put not his adversary always to the worse. And to let other matters of Germany pass, even this last year, within the compass of eight months, he professed himself open enemy against four the greatest powers that I know upon earth; the Turk, the pope, the emperor, and the French king; and obtained his purpose, and won praise against them all four. For he in person, and policy, and courage, dispatched the Turk's purpose and

power this last year in Hungary. The council of Trent, which the pope and the emperor went so about to establish, he only brought to none effect: first by open protestation against that council, and after by his coming with his army to Insburg, he brought such fear to the bishops there gathered, that they ran every one far away from thence, with such speed as they never durst hitherto speak of meeting there again. And how he dealt with the emperor, both in forcing him to fly from Insburg, and compelling him to such a peace at Passau, my whole diarium shall at full instruct you.

And of all other he served the French king best, who fair pretending the delivery of the two princes captives, and the maintenance of religion and liberty in Germany; purposed in very deed nothing else but the destruction of the emperor, and the house of Austria; for what cared he for religion abroad, who at home not only followeth none himself privately in his life, but also persecuteth the truth in others openly with the sword. But I do him wrong to say he followeth none, who could for his purpose be content at one time to embrace all; and for to do hurt enough to the emperor would become at once, by solemn league, protestant, popish, Turkish, and devilish. But such princes that carry nothing else but the name of bearing up God's word deserve the same praise and the same end that that prince did, who seemed so ready to bear up the ark of the Lord, and yet otherwise pursued God's true prophets and his word.

Again, how much the French king cared for the liberty of Germany he well declared in stealing away so unhonourably from the empire the city of Metz. But he thinking to abuse duke Maurice for his ambitious purpose, in very deed and in the end duke

Maurice used him as he should; for first he made him pay well for the whole wars in Germany, as it is said, 200,000 crowns a month; and after, when the French king fell to catching of cities, duke Maurice, tendering the state of his country, brake off with him, and began to parley with the good king of the Romans at Luiz, which thing heard, when the French king came within two miles of the Rhine, he straightway hied more hastily, and with more disorder for all his great haste, out of Germany (as they say that were there), than the emperor being sick without company, and pressed by his enemy, did go from Insburg.

And see how noble Duke Maurice did, which for the love of his country durst fall from the French king before he achieved anything against the emperor. And rather than Germany should leese [*lose*] her cities so by the French king, he had liefer hazard both the losing of his enterprise, and also the leaving of his father-in-law still in prison with the emperor. But as he had wit to take money plenty of the French king, so had he wit also to furnish himself so from home as he durst first fall out with the French king, and durst also after to set upon the emperor, till he had brought his honest purpose to pass. For there is not almost any in this court but they will say duke Maurice did honestly in delivering his father by strong hand, which before left no fair mean unproved to do that humbly by entreaty, which after he was compelled to bring to pass stoutly by force. And I pray you mark well what he did, and then judge truly if any thing was done that he ought not to do.

For first, he himself with the marquis of Brandenburg most humbly by private suit laboured for the landgrave's delivery, offering to the emperor princely

offers, and not to be refused; as a huge sum of money, a fair quantity of great ordnance, certain holds of his, some to be defaced, some given to the emperor; and also personal pledges of great houses, for his good haberance all the residue of his life.

After, when this suit was not regarded, they again procured all the princes and states of Germany, being at the diet at Augusta, an. 1548, to be humble intercessors for him, offering the self-same conditions rehearsed before; adding this more, to become sureties themselves in any bond to his majesty for his due obedience for time to come.

Thirdly, by the prince of Spain, duke Maurice never left to entreat the emperor; yea, he was so careful of the matter, that his ambassadors followed the prince even to his shipping at Genoa; who had spoken often presently before, and wrote earnestly from thence to his father for the landgrave's delivery; and it would not be. And wise men may say it was not the wisest deed that ever the emperor did, to deny the prince this suit; for if the prince had been made the deliverer of the two princes out of captivity, he had won thereby such favour in all Germany, as without all doubt he had been made coadjutor with the king of the Romans his uncle, and afterward the emperor. Which thing was lustily denied to the emperor by the electors, though he laboured in the matter so sore as he never did in any other before.

Fourthly, this last year, a little before the open wars, Duke Maurice procured once again, not only all the princes and free estates of Germany, but also the king of the Romans Ferdinand, Maximilian his son, king of Boheme, the king of Pole, the king of Denmark, the king of Sweden, to send also their ambassadors for

this suit, so that at once twenty-four ambassadors came before the emperor together, at Insburg. To whom when the emperor had given very fair words, in effect containing a double-meaning answer, and that was this: "That it did him good to see so noble an ambassage at once; and therefore so many princes should well understand that he would make a good account of their suit. Nevertheless, because Duke Maurice was the chiefest party herein, he would with speed send for him, and use his head for the better ending of this matter." But Duke Maurice seeing that all these ambassadors went home without him, and that the matter was referred to his present talk, who was never heard in the matter before, he wisely met this double-meaning answer of the emperor's with a double-meaning *replica* again, for he promised the emperor to come and at last indeed came so hastily, and so hotly, as the emperor could not abide the heat of his breath; for when duke Maurice saw that all humble suits, all quiet means were spent in vain, and had to bear him just witness therein all the princes of Germany; first with close policy, after with open power, both wittily and stoutly, he achieved more by force than he required by suit: for the emperor was glad to condescend (which surely in an extreme adversity was done like a wise prince) without money, without artillery, without defacing of holds, without receiving of pledges, to send the landgrave home honourably, accompanied with (at the emperor's charges) the nobility of Brabant and Flanders.

This last day I dined with the ambassador of Venice, in company of many wise heads, where duke Maurice was greatly praised of some for his wit, of others for the execution of his purposes: "Well," saith a lusty

Italian priest, "I cannot much praise his wit, which might have had the emperor in his hands and would not." Lo such be these Machiavel's heads, who think no man have so much wit as he should, except he do more mischief than he need. But duke Maurice purposing to do no harm to the emperor, but good to his father-in-law, obtaining the one pursued not the other. Yea, I know it to be most true, when we fled from Insburg so hastily, Duke Maurice sent a post to the good king of the Romans, and bade him will the emperor to make no such speed, for he purposed not to hurt his person, but to help his friend; whereupon the diet at Passau immediately followed.

I commend rather the judgment of John Baptist Gascaldo, the emperor's man and the king of the Romans's general in Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or love any man more than he should, specially Germans, and namely protestants. And yet this last winter he wrote to the emperor, that he had marked Duke Maurice well in all his doings against the Turk, and of all men that ever he had seen, he had a head to forecast the best with policy and wit, and a heart to set upon it with courage and speed, and also a discretion to stay most wisely upon the very prick of advantage.

Marquis Marignano told some in this court four years ago, that Duke Maurice should become the greatest enemy to the emperor that ever the emperor had; which thing he judged (I believe) not of any troublesome nature which he saw in Duke Maurice, but of the great wrongs that were done to Duke Maurice, knowing that he had both wit to perceive them quietly, and also a courage not to bear them over long.

Some other in this court that loved not Duke Maurice,

and having no hurt to do him by power, went about to say him some for spite, and therefore wrote these two spiteful verses against him:

* *Jugurtham Mauricus prodit, Mauricus ultra,*
Henricum, Patruum, Socerum, cum Cæsare, Gallum.

He that gave me this verse added thereunto this his judgment, "Well (saith he) he that could find in his heart to betray his friend duke Henry of Brunswick, his nigh kinsman duke Frederick, his father-in-law the landgrave, his sovereign lord the emperor, his confederate the French king, breaking all bonds of friendship, nature, law, obedience, and oath, shall besides all these deceive all men, if at length he do not deceive himself." This verse and this sentence, the one made of spite, the other spoken of displeasure, be here commended as men be affectioned. For my part, as I cannot accuse him for all, so will I not excuse him for part. And yet since I came to this court, I should do him wrong if I did not confess that, which as wise heads as be in this court have judged on him, even those that for country and religion were not his friends, that is, to have shown himself in all these affairs betwixt the emperor and him, first, humble in entreating, diligent in pursuing, witty in purposing, secret in working, fierce to force by open war, ready to parley for common peace, wise in choice of conditions, and just in performing of covenants.

And I know he offended the emperor beyond all

* The former distich was in the old edition corrupt, and still remains barbarous in the prosody; the same defect will remain in this, though it be reformed as I believe it was written, thus, *Jugurtham Maurus prodit, Mauricius ultra.* [Some one has cancelled *ic* in Mauricius, with red ink, in the copy at the British Museum.]

remedy of amends; so would I be loth to see, as I have once seen, his majesty fall so again into any enemy's hands; lest peradventure less gentleness would be found in him than was found in duke Maurice, who when he was most able to hurt, was most ready to hold his hand, and that against such an enemy, as he knew well would never love him, and should always be of most power to revenge. If Duke Maurice had had a Machiavel's head or a coward's heart, he would have worn a bloodier sword than he did, which he never drew out in all these stirs, but once at the Cluce, and that was to save the emperor's men.

Hitherto I have followed the order of persons, which hath caused me somewhat to misorder both time and matter, yet where divers great affairs come together, a man shall write confusedly for the matter, and unpleasantly for the reader, if he use not such an apt kind of partition as the matter will best afford, "Which thing (Plato saith) who cannot do, knoweth not how to write." Herein Herodotus deserveth in mine opinion a great deal more praise than Thucydides, although he wrote of a matter more confused for places, time, and persons, than the other did.

In this point also Appianus Alexandrinus is very commendable, and not by chance but by skill doth follow this order, declaring in his prologue just causes why he should do so. Our writers in later time, both in Latin and other tongues, commonly confound too many matters together, and so write well of no one. But see, master Astley, I thinking to be in some present talk with you, after our old wont, do seem to forget both myself and my purpose.

For the rest that is behind, I will use a gross and homely kind of talk with you; for I will now, as it

were, carry you out of England with me, and will lead you the same way that I went, even to the emperor's court, being at Augusta, an. 1550. And I will let you see in what case it stood, and what things were in doing when we came first thither. After, I will carry you, and that apace (because the chiefest matters be thoroughly touched in this my former book), through the greatest affairs of two years in this court. Yea, in order, till we have brought Duke Maurice (as I promised you) to join with marquis Albert in besieging Augusta. And then, because privy practices brast [*burst*] out into open stirs, I might better mark things daily than I could before. And so we will depart with the emperor from Insburg, and see daily what chances were wrought by fear and hope in this court, till his majesty left the siege of Metz, and came down hither to Brussels; where then all things were shut up into secret practices, till, lastly of all, they brake forth into new mischiefs, betwixt the emperor and France in Picardy, and also betwixt Duke Maurice and the marquis in high Germany; which things, I trust, some other shall mark and describe a great deal better than I am able to do.

THE SCHOLEMASTER

Or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to underſtand, write, and ſpeake, the Latin tong, but ſpecially purpoſed for the private brynging up of youth in Jentlemen and Noble mens houſes, and commodious alſo for all ſuch, as have forgot the Latin tonge, and would, by themſelves, without a Scholemaſter, in ſhort tyme, and with ſmall paines, recover a ſufficient habilitie, to underſtand, write, and ſpeake Latin.

¶ By Roger Aſcham.

¶ *An.* 1570.

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¶ *Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis, per Decennium.*

ASCHAM'S DEDICATION.

DIVÆ ELIZABETHÆ.

Most Excellent Princess,

THE unlearned persons hath perfectly learned this lesson, that no one matter maketh more difference betwixt man and man, than doth learning. And though learning bring to every kind of man (who godly doth use it,) the truest pleasure, the surest profit, the greatest praise, that can be either gotten in earth or given from heaven, (heaven itself only excepted,) yet is not learning more fit and necessary to any other person, than it is to a prince. For we subjects are, by duty, and ought to be by reason, obeyers and followers; and so be scholars and learners: you princes are, in dignity, and ought to be in worthiness, commanders and leaders, and therefore as masters and teachers. And how shall he lead another, that cannot go himself; or what shall he teach, that nothing hath learned? But, how happy be we, that have a prince who knoweth full well, that that prince is unhappy for himself, and all his, who knoweth nothing, but by another man's head: who must see nothing, but by other men's eyes: who will hear nothing, but by other men's ears: who can speak nothing, but by another man's tongue. Such a governor, with-

out head, eyes, ears, and tongue, were marvellous to be seen, more perilous to be had, but most perilous to be made keeper of others. And yet was he a very wise man, that made this the very figure of an unlearned, and of an unruly prince.

The deformity and hurt of ignorance, the comeliness and good of learning in a prince, is well set out, as your majesty well knoweth, in Xenophon and Isocrates; but yet no otherwise, than like a well painted image, without sense, without life, in comparison of that lively voice and trump of the HOLY GHOST, sounding daily in every good Christian prince's ears, *Nunc reges intelligite: Erudimini qui judicatis terram;* and that joined with a terrible sore threat, *Ne forte irascatur Dominus, et pereatis de via justa.*

Some, supposed wise men, would not have princes learned: but proud is their wisdom, that will needs be wiser than the HOLY GHOST; and such is their wisdom, that would fill their own coffers by the folly of their prince. Therefore, let no good prince be ashamed of good learning, and namely of God's learning, seeing God himself doth will them thereunto, and that by the voice of such a teacher, as a prince, be he never so great, never so wise, may well enough become his scholar. For this teacher was not only a king himself, but the best king, and best learned king, that ever God made king upon earth. And he was brought up in that school where the HOLY GHOST himself was master; and he such a doer and worker in that school, as his hand and tongue was his master's chiefest pen and style, as he witnesseth in plain words himself, *Lingua mea calamus scribæ velociter scribentis.* This king was also nighest in authority, and highest in favour with God, King of all kings: for what king, or man else,

heard ever so friendly a word from God's own mouth, *Inveni virum secundum cor meum!* How oft doth God say in Scripture, I will do so, and I will not do so, for my servant David's sake! How happy is that prince, of whom God will speak so! But how more happy is that prince and all his too, for whom God will do so! And therefore, what a comfort is it to a godly prince, to learn of such a teacher; to follow such a guide; to read his life; to see his acts: to have his counsel always at hand, not only for the best civil government over his people, but for his own private life betwixt him and God.

It is most true that St. Hierom saith: That every man's own conscience is the best commentary to understand, with most profit, the Psalms of David; for benefits to give thanks; for offences to ask pardon; for misery to seek comfort; for injury to pray aid. For, no man can read David's Psalms attentively, but he shall see all his own faults, all his own necessities, all his outward deeds, all his inward thoughts, set before his eyes.

And yet is it as true, that the thoughts and sayings of David, being a prince, cannot be neither so properly applied, nor so deeply understood, by any other person as by a prince. For, the like state and dignity, the like charge and authority, do breed like thoughts, like purposes, like counsellors, like acts, like events. Private persons feel not commonly the thoughts of princes. Few servants in common families have like thoughts with the meanest masters. Therefore, such as be likest David in life, affairs, state, and dignity may have the likest thoughts, and use the likest talk with God, that David had.

A prince, no private person, can run thoroughly out

the whole course of David's life; as, to begin his young years in God's fear; to pass through troubles and cares, perils and dangers; by injuries of greatest enemies; by unkindness of nearest friends; by false surmises; by wrong imprisonments; by daily threats, and fear of death into safety of life, were benefits of God to David, being a private man, common also to many other good private men. But, to be carried from such private misery up to princely state and felicity, is only the dealing of God with such princes, who are specially regarded of God, as David was, and commit themselves wholly and only to God, as David did.

And how did God deal with David when he had made him a king? First, he saw the fall of all his enemies; and all their ungodly race and bloody faction rooted out. And though God put into his hand the life of all those that cruelly before had sought for his death, yet not any his private revenge for private injuries, but God's open punishment, brought them all under his feet. God gave him glorious victories over all outward enemies; and speedy * meetings with all inward conspiracies; and after blessed him with a quiet government, and gave him *requiem circumquaque ab universis inimicis ejus*, with happy days, with an obedient people; where common justice was duly executed, and private right to every man defended; all crafty Achitophels removed out of place, and good, wise, and quiet Hushaies bearing greatest authority.

These blessings of God to king David were great, but there followed far greater, both for the comfort of himself and the happiness of his subjects; for he heard of God's own mouth, "Thine own seed shall sit in thy

* To *meet with*, in the language of that age, was to *oppose*, to *counteract*, to *repress*.

seat;" which is the greatest comfort can come to a good prince, and the joyfullest felicity that a good prince can leave to his subjects.

And so David, made king by God's goodness, made also not only his present time happy, but his posterity also blessed. And therefore was David a prince, of himself most worthy, to others most happy; whose doings for his posterity, as thousands unborn were bound to bless, so all that hear of it, are driven to praise: the worthiest example for all good princes to follow, that ever God set before princes' eyes.

Most noble princess, and my best lady and mistress, I oft, thinking of this race of David's life, of his former miseries, of his latter felicities, of God's dealing with him in all points, to bring happiness to his present time and safety to his posterity; have had, for many like causes, many like thoughts, even of the like life and state of your majesty.

And therefore, moved by good will as your true servant, and carried by duty as a faithful subject, and bound by many benefits of your most bountiful goodness towards me, and especially because it pleased your Highness this last year, not only by your letters and commandment to the Court of the Exchequer, but also by your own present talk with my Lord Archbishop of York, clearly to deliver me, first, from the misery of those long, careful, and costly troubles of the law; and after, from the injury that some would have offered me, in surprising your majesty's benefit from me; I thought good to offer to your highness this book, with this letter, as a true servant doth in Euripides, to a most noble queen, when he gave unto her the like token of good will, for the like delivery out of troubles and care; saying then, for

no juster cause, nor with better heart, than I do now to your majesty,

> 'Αλλ', ὦ φίλη δέσποινα, εὐμενῶς δέχου,
> Φίλον φίλου μνημόσυνον ἐκδικουμένου.

And to offer this book of Scripture unto your Majesty, before any other, good reason, I suppose, doth move me. For though all Scripture, as the Apostle saith, is written for all men's teaching, yet some piece is fitter to one person than another, to read, for themselves, by themselves, privately alone. As the Book of Wisdom, the Proverbs of Solomon, Jesus Sirach, for all men both learned and lewd;* Leviticus, Numbers, the Songs of Solomon, Daniel, the Apocalypse, and such like, chiefly for deep learned men, and not for every fond head and curious spirit; the Book of Judges, the Preacher of Solomon, for civil governors in common offices, for masters and fathers in private families; but the Books of Samuel and the rest of the Kings, especially for all good kings and princes.

This volume containeth two books: the first, the life of Saul, the image of an ill prince, the deformed face of a miserable kingdom, where God and his goodness is forgotten, God's voice not heard, right religion perverted, true sacrifices either quite left off or coldly observed, God worshipped, as Saul listed, not as God prescribed, good Samuel despised, his counsel derided, Baal's priests borne withal, and openly authorised, ill altars erected, spiritual fornication with Egypt and Babylon every where occupied. Thus Saul, first halving with God (as when God gave Amalek into his hand), then halting in religion, and at last quite falling from God and religion both, and flying to Baal and

* *Lewd* is *lay*, or *popular*.

devilish sorcery, brought his own state to utter destruction, and his kingdom to extreme misery. For the contempt of God and religion brought his commonwealth to utter ruin, as it hath, and will do, all other kingdoms. And in what order? or rather, by what misorder? Surely, by these steps and degrees all went downward, wilful lust shut up all order of justice; open injury oppressed good men. David was untruly suspected, and cruelly persecuted: vain and ill men bare greatest swing, good Jonathan only excepted, placed in court by God's providence, for David's and other good men's comfort. And thus, lust and vanity secretly within, injustice and mischief openly abroad, went with full tide and wind in Saul's kingdom and court, until the blast of God's wrath overwhelmed all up set down: first by all plagues at home, then by a strange nation, their neighbour, the old enemy of Israel; by whose invasion and cruel sword Saul lost his state, lost his life, dispossessed his own seed, undid his posterity, and left his kingdom to a strange family. This history, for the misery, is dreadful to be heard, but for the example and warning, profitable for all good princes, daily to read, and advisedly to mark.

The second book containeth the life of David, the image of a good prince, a fair picture of a flourishing state and happy time, when God was always in mind, and his former benefits, his former deliveries from danger of death, never utterly forgotten; God's own religion maintained, God's voice only heard; God's own sacrifices, as God himself appointed, earnestly observed; good Nathan highly reverenced, his advice never refused, his free tongue, his heavy message from God, neither then rebuked with words, nor after revenged with deeds; but, by and by, most humbly

answered, with *Ego peccavi Domino:* and therefore David heard joyfully again, *Et Dominus transtulit peccatum tuum, non morieris.* Baal and Dagon, and all their priests, were utterly banished. All ill altars fully rooted out, all idolatry and superstition of Egypt and Babylon clean forsaken. Thus David, by fearing, serving, and holding himself fast by God and his religion, and though sometimes falling, yet not perversedly cleaving to wilfulness, but meekly acknowledging his own wickedness, not frowardly lying still, but speedily rising up at God's calling, brought his own state to highest dignity, and his people to greatest felicity. And in the end, had this joyful blessing from God's own mouth, by Nathan's message, which all true English hearts daily do pray that God will send the same unto your Majesty: *Excitabo semen tuum postea, quod egredietur de utero tuo, et regnum seminis tui perpetuo firmabo.* Whereunto, I trust, God, your Majesty, and all good men, will most gladly, with heart and hand, say all, Amen.

The image of these two princes' lives, the one good, the other bad, and God's present dealing with them both, is a marvellous picture for all men to look upon; yea, though they be but private persons, and only standers-by; but most necessary for all princes to mark and muse upon, if either the dreadful fear of God's wrath, or the joyful hope of God's favour, do any thing touch their hearts. And their hearts, of all other, ought chiefly to be touched with both: for though God be *Scrutator cordium omnium hominum;* yet it is spoken for the high prerogative of princes, *Corda regum in manu Dei sunt:* that is to say, God immediately, by himself governeth, and with his prepresent eye beholdeth, the deeds and thoughts of

princes. This is no opinion of philosophy, but the truth of God's own doctrine: and that so certain and sensible a truth, as there is no prince, be he never so good, never so bad, but his own conscience doth daily and hourly bear good witness to the same. And truth also it is, that, as their dignity is highest, so is the burthen of their charge heaviest, and therefore the care for their account ought to be greatest: and for this cause too a great deal the greater, because no man, but God only, must be the auditor thereof.

But how dealt God with Saul? God gave unto Saul, an ill king, great and many blessings: a comely stature of body; fair qualities of the mind: he heard of Samuel's mouth, *Quia Dominus tecum est*: and, *In manu tua liberabit Deus Israel*. And yet, at the last, he heard again of Samuel, *Stultus factus es*: and after, this sore threat, *Jam non erit firmum regnum tuum*: and that with the plain cause why, *Quia abjecisti verbum Domini, Dominus abjecit te*. And so, in the end, God's high gifts, not thankfully remembered, but ungodly used, turned all to Saul's greater destruction.

On the other side, David, a good king, was tossed with all miseries, by danger of sorest injuries, by grief of greatest unkindness; yet all such mishaps, patiently taken at God's hand, and the delivery from them by God, never forgotten by David, turned all to David's greatest felicity. But David was wrapt in a stranger case and kind of misery; for when God had showed him his greatest favour, and had given him the highest benefits that man in earth could receive, yet God suffered him to fall into the deepest pit of wickedness; to commit the cruellest murder, and thereto fullest adultery, that ever did man upon earth. Wherein he did not stumble by ignorance, nor slide

by weakness, nor only fall by wilfulness, but went to it advisedly, purposing all practices,* and finding out all fetches that mischief could imagine, to bring mischief to pass. Yet though David had shaken from him God's fear, yet God had not taken from David his grace. For, when God did knock, David did open: when Nathan said boldly, *Tu fecisti malum coram Domino*, David answered humbly, *Ipse peccavi Domino.* And so, †out of this foul matter is gathered the fairest example, and best lesson, both for prince and private man, that is in all Scripture; for the highest and best, always to beware; for the meanest and worst never to despair; and that, with a marvellous note of king David's singular good nature, who was angry with himself for ill-doing, and not with good Nathan for true speaking.

But your Majesty, in reading the whole course of this holy history, shall better judge of all these points, and many other more, if it may please you to read withal, these learned commentaries of Peter Martyr, who, beside the expressing of this story, and opening all hard doubts thereof, hath godly and learnedly, as a man of great experience and deep judgment, decided many notable common places, belonging especially to the good order of civil government, and therefore very fit for the knowledge of all good princes.

And therefore was I very willing to offer this book to your Majesty, wherein, as in a fair glass, your Majesty shall see and acknowledge, by God's dealings with David, even very many like good dealings of God

* *Practice*, in the language of our author's age, was commonly taken in an ill sense, for *wicked acts*, or *unlawful strategems.*

† This had been a very proper admonition after the execution of Queen Mary of Scotland.

with your Majesty; and thereby find yourself bound, both daily to say with David, *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ tribuit mihi!* and also to promise and perform with David, *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, et semper laus ejus in ore meo.* And so doing as David did, hear from God, as David heard, *Inveni mulierem secundum cor meum*; and in the end have as David had, that is, most prosperity, and surest felicity, for you, yours, and your posterity. God bless your Majesty with all felicity, and send you, with many long years, all heart's ease.

xxx° Octob.
MDLXVI°.

Your Majesty's
Most bounden and
Faithful servant,
R. ASCHAM.

MARGARET ASCHAM'S DEDICATION.

TO THE HONOURABLE

SIR WILLIAM CECIL, KNIGHT,

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SUNDRY and reasonable be the causes, why learned men have used to offer and dedicate such works as they put abroad, to some such personage as they think fittest, either in respect of ability of defence, or skill for judgment, or private regard of kindness and duty. Every one of those considerations, Sir, move me of right to offer this my late husband's (Mr. Ascham) work unto you. For well remembering how much all good learning oweth unto you for defence thereof, as the University of Cambridge, of which my said late husband was a member, have, in choosing you their worthy chancellor, acknowledged; and how happily you have spent your time in such studies, and carried the use thereof to the right end, to the good service of the Queen's majesty, and your country, to all our benefits; thirdly, how much my said husband was many ways bound unto you, and how gladly and comfortably he used in his life to recognise, and report your goodness toward

him, leaving with me, then his poor widow, and a great sort of orphans, a good comfort in the hope of your good continuance, which I have truly found to me and mine; and therefore do duly and daily pray for you and yours: I could not find any man, for whose name this book was more agreeable for hope of protection, more meet for submission to judgment, nor more due for respect of worthiness of your part, and thankfulness of my husband's and mine. Good I trust it shall do, as I am put in great hope by many very well learned, that can well judge thereof. Meet therefore I count it, that such good as my husband was able to do and leave to the common weal, it should be received under your name, and that the world should owe thank thereof to you, to whom my husband, the author of it, was, for good received of you, most dutifully bounden. And so beseeching you to take on you the defence of this book, to advance the good that may come of it by your allowance, and furtherance to public use and benefit, and to accept the thankful recognition of me and my poor children, trusting of the continuance of your good memory of Mr. Ascham and his, and daily commending the prosperous estate of you and yours to God, whom you serve, and whose you are, I rest to trouble you.

Your humble

MARGARET ASCHAM.

ASCHAM'S

PREFACE TO THE READER.

WHEN the great plague was at London, the year 1563, the queen's majesty, queen Elizabeth, lay at her castle of Windsor, where,* upon the tenth day of December, it fortuned, that in Sir William Cecil's chamber, her highness's principal secretary, there dined together these personages: Mr. Secretary himself, Sir William Peter, Sir J. Mason, D. Wotton, Sir Richard Sackville, treasurer of the exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Haddon, master of requests, Mr. John Astley, master of the jewel-house, Mr. Bernard Hampton, Mr. Nicasius, and I. Of which number, the most part were of her majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and the rest serving her in very good place. I was glad then, † and do rejoice yet to remember, that my chance was so happy to be there that day, in the company of so many wise and good men together, as hardly then could have been picked out again out of all England beside.

Mr. Secretary hath his accustomed manner; though

* This was about five years before the author's death; for he died the 30th December, in the year 1568, in the fifty-third year of his age.

† The author wrote *than*, as appears by the early editions: the words once bore the same meaning, which may still be traced in such expressions as "He came sooner than I;" *i.e.*, he came—*then* I came.

his head be never so full of most weighty affairs of the realm, yet at dinner-time he doth seem to lay them always aside; and findeth ever fit occasion to talk pleasantly of other matters, but most gladly of some matter of learning, wherein he will courteously hear the mind of the meanest at his table.

Not long after our sitting down, "I have strange news brought me," saith Mr. Secretary, "this morning, that divers scholars of Eton be run away from the school for fear of beating." Whereupon, Mr. Secretary took occasion to wish, that some more discretion were in many schoolmasters, in using correction, than commonly there is; who many times punish rather the weakness of nature, than the fault of the scholar; whereby many scholars, that might else prove well, be driven to hate learning before they know what learning meaneth; and so are made willing to forsake their book, and be glad to be put to any other kind of living.

Mr. Petre, as one somewhat severe of nature, said plainly, That the rod only was the sword, that must keep the school in obedience, and the scholar in good order. Mr. Wotton, a man mild of nature, with soft voice and few words, inclined to Mr. Secretary's judgment, and said, "In mine opinion, the school-house should be in deed, as it is called by name,* the house of play and pleasure, and not of fear and bondage; and, as I do remember, so saith † Socrates in one place of

* A school of learning was called Ludus Literarius; a school of gladiators, Ludus Gladiatorius, &c.

† The passage to which the dean of Canterbury here refers, is in Plato's seventh book of his Republic, not far from the end, and is afterwards cited by Mr. Ascham. I shall here tran-

Plato. And therefore, if a rod carry the fear of a sword, it is no marvel if those that be fearful of nature, choose rather to forsake the play, than to stand always within the fear of a sword in a fond man's handling."

Mr. Mason, after his manner, was very merry with both parties, pleasantly playing both with the shrewd touches of many courste boys, and with the small discretion of many lewd schoolmasters. Mr. Haddon was fully of Mr. Petre's opinion, and said, That the best schoolmaster of our time was the * greatest beater, and named the person. "Though," quoth I, "it was his good fortune to send from his school unto the

scribe it somewhat more fully for the reader's satisfaction. *Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν λογισμῶν τε καὶ γεωμετριῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς προπαιδείας, ἣν τῆς Διαλεκτικῆς δεῖ προπαιδευθῆναι, παισὶν οὖσι χρὴ προβάλλειν, οὐχ ὡς ἐπάναγκες μαθεῖν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς διδαχῆς ποιουμένους. Τί δή; Ὅτι (ἦνδ' ἐγὼ) οὐδὲν μάθημα μετὰ δουλείας τὸν ἐλεύθερον χρὴ μανθάνειν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος πόνοι, βίᾳ πονούμενοι, χεῖρον οὐδὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται. Ψυχῇ δὲ βίαιον οὐδὲν ἔμμενον μάθημα. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Μὴ τοίνυν βίᾳ (εἶπον) ὦ ἄριστε, τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ παίζοντας τρέφε, ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον οἷός τ' ἦς καθορᾷν ἐφ' ὃ ἕκαστος πέφυκε.*

* This was Nic. Udal, master of Eton school, whom Bale styles, *Elegantissimus omnium bonarum literarum magister, et earum felicissimus interpres.* His severity his own scholar, Mr. Tusser, has sufficiently proclaimed in these lines:

"From Paul's I went, to Eaton sent,
To learn straightways the Latin phrase;
Where fifty-three stripes given to me
At once I had:
For fault but small, or none at all,
It came to pass, thus beat I was:
See, Udal, see the mercy of thee
To me poor lad."

University * one of the best scholars indeed of all our time, yet wise men do think, that that came so to pass, rather by the great towardness of the scholar, than by the great beating of the master: and whether this be true or no, you yourself are best witness." I said somewhat farther in the matter, how, and why young children were sooner allured by love than driven by beating, to attain good learning; wherein I was the bolder to say my mind, because Mr. Secretary courteously provoked me thereunto; or else in such a company, and namely in his presence, my wont is, to be more willing to use mine ears, than to occupy my tongue. The author of this book.

Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Astley, and the rest, said very little; only Sir Richard Sackville said nothing at all. After dinner, I went up to read with the queen's Majesty. We read then together in the Greek tongue, as I well remember, that noble oration of Demosthenes against Æschines, for his false dealing in his embassage to king Philip of Macedonia. Sir Richard Sackville came up soon after, and finding me in her Majesty's privy-chamber, he took me by the hand, and carrying me to a window, said: "Mr. Ascham, I would not for a good deal of money have been this day absent from dinner. Where, though I said nothing, yet I gave as good ear, and do consider as well the talk that passed, as any one did there. Mr. Secretary said very wisely, and most Sir R. Sackville's communication with the author of this book.

* This was Mr. Haddon, some time fellow of King's College in Cambridge, very much complimented by all the learned men of that age, and of whom queen Elizabeth, upon some comparison made betwixt him and Buchanan, thus gave her opinion: *Buchananum omnibus antepono: Haddonum nemini postpono.*

truly, that many young wits be driven to hate learning, before they know what learning is. I can be good witness to this myself; for a fond schoolmaster, before I was fully fourteen years old, drave me so with fear of beating from all love of learning, as now, when I know what difference it is, to have learning, and to have little or none at all, I feel it my greatest grief, and find it my greatest hurt that ever came to me, that it was my so ill chance to light upon so lewd a schoolmaster. But seeing it is but in vain to lament things past, and also wisdom to look to things to come, surely, God willing, if God lend me life, I will make this my mishap some occasion of good hap to little * Robert Sackville, my son's son. For whose bringing up, I would gladly, if it so please you, use especially your good advice. I hear say you have a son much of his age; we will thus deal together: point you out a schoolmaster, who by your order shall teach my son and yours, and for all the rest I will provide, yea though they three do cost me a couple of hundred pounds by year; and beside, you shall find me as fast a friend to you and yours, as perchance any you have." Which promise the worthy gentleman surely kept with me until his dying day.

We had then farther talk together of bringing up of children, of the nature of quick and hard wits, of the right choice of a good wit, of fear and love in teaching children. We passed from children and came to young men, namely, gentlemen: we talked of their too much liberty to live as they lust; of their letting loose too soon to overmuch experience

The chief points of this book.

* This great care of the Treasurer's in the education of his two grandsons, my Lord Clarendon has likewise taken notice of in the first book of his History.

of ill, contrary to the good order of many good old commonwealths of the Persians and Greeks; of wit gathered, and good fortune gotten by some, only by experience without learning. And, lastly, he required of me very earnestly to show what I thought of the common going of Englishmen into Italy. "But," saith he, "because this place, and this time will not suffer so long talk, as these good matters require, therefore I pray you, at my request, and at your leisure, put in some order of writing the chief points of this our talk, concerning the right order of teaching, and honesty of living, for the good bringing up of children and young men; and surely, beside contenting me, you shall both please and profit very many others." I made some excuse by lack of ability and weakness of body. "Well," saith he, "I am not now to learn what you can do, our dear friend, good Mr. Goodricke, whose judgment I could well believe, did once for all satisfy me fully therein. Again, I heard you say, not long ago, that you may thank Sir John Cheke for all the learning you have; and I know very well myself, that you did teach the queen. And therefore, seeing God did so bless you, to make you the scholar of the best master, and also the schoolmaster of the best scholar, that ever were in our time; surely, you should please God, benefit your country, and honest your own name, if you would take the pains to impart to others what you learned of such a master, and how ye taught such a scholar. And in uttering the stuff ye received of the one, in declaring the order ye took with the other, ye shall never lack neither matter nor manner, what to write, nor how to write, in this kind of argument."

I beginning some farther excuse, suddenly was called

to come to the queen. The night following, I slept little; my head was so full of this our former talk, and I so mindful somewhat to satisfy the honest request of so dear a friend. I thought to prepare some little treatise for a new-year's gift that Christmas; but, as it chanceth to busy builders, so, in building this my poor school-house (the rather because the form of it is somewhat new, and differing from others), the work rose daily higher and wider, than I thought it would at the beginning.

And though it appear now, and be in very deed, but a small cottage, poor for the stuff and rude for the workmanship; yet, in going forward, I found the site so good, as I was loth to give it over; but the making so costly, outreaching my ability, as many times I wished that some one of those three, my dear friends, with full purses, Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Haddon, or Mr. Watson, had had the doing of it. Yet, nevertheless, I myself spending gladly that little, that I got at home by good Sir John Cheke, and that that I borrowed abroad of my friend Sturmius, beside somewhat that was left me in reversion by my old masters Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, I have at last patched it up, as I could, and as you see. If the matter be mean, and meanly handled, I pray you bear both with me and it; for never work went up in worse weather, with more lets and stops, than this poor school-house of mine. Westminster Hall can bear some witness, beside * much

* "Ingravescente jam ætate, a nocturnis et pomeridianis studiis abhorrebat; antelucanis et matutinis temporibus legebat, commentabatur, studebat, scribebat. Erat corpore imbecillis, et valetudinarius, multis morbis fractus, continentibus febribus correptus, variis ægrotationibus afflictus; quæ paucis ante mortem annis eum in hecticam febrim conjecerunt." This is taken out of Mr. Grant's excellent Oration on Mr. Ascham.

weakness of body, but more trouble of mind, by some such sores, as grieve me to touch them myself: and therefore I purpose not to open them to others. And in the midst of outward injuries and inward cares, to increase them withal, good Sir Richard Sackville dieth, that worthy gentleman; that earnest favourer and furtherer of God's true religion; that faithful servitor to his prince and country; a lover of learning and all learned men: wise in all doings; courteous to all persons, showing spite to none, doing good to many; and as I well found, to me so fast a friend, as I never lost the like before. When he was gone, my heart was dead; there was not one that wore a black gown for him, who carried a heavier heart for him than I: when he was gone, I cast this book away; I could not look upon it but with weeping eyes, in remembering him who was the only setter on to do it; and would have been not only a glad commender of it, but also a sure and certain comfort to me and mine for it.

Almost two years together this book lay scattered and neglected, and had been quite given over of me, if the goodness of one had not given me some life and spirit again. God, the mover of goodness, prosper always him and his, as he hath many times comforted me and mine, and, I trust to God, shall comfort more and more. Of whom most justly I may say, and very oft, and always gladly I am wont to say, that sweet verse of Sophocles, spoken by Œdipus to worthy Theseus:

*Ἐγω γὰρ ἃ 'χω διὰ σὲ, κοὐκ ἄλλον βροτῶν.**

This hope hath helped me to end this book; which, if he allow, I shall think my labours well employed, and shall not much esteem the misliking of any others.

* Soph. Œd. Col., 1129.

And I trust he shall think the better of it, because he shall find the best part thereof to come out of his school, whom he of all men loved and liked best.

Yet some men, friendly enough of nature, but of small judgment in learning, do think I take too much pains, and spend too much time, in setting forth these children's affairs. But those good men were never brought up in Socrates's school, who saith plainly, "That no man goeth about a more * godly purpose, than he that is mindful of the good bringing up both of his own and other men's children."

Therefore, I trust, good and wise men will think well of this my doing. And of other, that think otherwise, I will think myself, they are but men to be pardoned for their folly, and pitied for their ignorance.

In writing this book, I have had earnest respect to three special points; troth of religion, honesty in living, right order in learning. In which three ways, I pray God my poor children may diligently walk; for whose sake, as nature moved, and reason required, and necessity also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these pains.

For, seeing at my death I am not like to leave them any great store of living, therefore in my life-time I thought good to bequeath unto them, in this little book, as in my will and testament, the right way to good learning; which if they follow, with the fear of God, they shall very well come to sufficiency of living.

* Plato in initio Theagis: *Ἀλλὰ μὲν δή, ὦ Δημόδοκε, καὶ λέγεταί γε συμβουλὴ ἱερὸν χρῆμα εἶναι, εἴπερ οὖν καὶ ἄλλη ἡτισοῦν ἐστιν ἱερά, καὶ αὐτὴ ἂν εἴη περὶ ἧς σὺ νῦν συμβουλεύῃ. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι περὶ ὅτου θειοτέρου ἂν ἄνθρωπος βουλεύσαιτο, ἢ περὶ Παιδείας καὶ τῶν αὑτοῦ, καὶ τῶν αὑτοῦ οἰκείων.*

I wish also, with all my heart, that young Mr. Robert Sackville may take that fruct of this labour that his worthy grandfather purposed he should have done: and if any other do take either profit or pleasure hereby, they have cause to thank Mr. Robert Sackville, for whom especially this my Schoolmaster was provided.

And one thing I would have the reader consider in reading this book, that, because no schoolmaster hath charge of any child before he enter into his school, therefore, I leaving all former care of their good bringing up to wise and good parents, as a matter not belonging to the schoolmaster, I do appoint this my Schoolmaster then and there to begin, where his office and charge beginneth. Which charge lasteth not long, but until the scholar be made able to go to the university, to proceed in logic, rhetoric, and other kinds of learning.

Yet if my Schoolmaster, for love he beareth to his scholar, shall teach him somewhat for his furtherance and better judgment in learning, that may serve him seven year after in the university, he doth his scholar no more wrong, nor deserveth no worse name thereby, than he doth in London, who, selling silk or cloth unto his friend, doth give him better measure than either his promise or bargain was.

Farewell in Christ.

THE

FIRST BOOK,

TEACHING

THE BRINGING UP OF YOUTH.

AFTER the child hath learned perfectly the eight parts of speech, let him then learn the right joining together of substantives with adjectives, the noun with the verb, the relative with the antecedent. And in learning farther his syntaxis, by mine advice, he shall not use the common order in common schools, for making of Latins: whereby the child commonly learneth, first, an evil choice of words, (and * "right choice of words," saith Cæsar, "is the foundation of eloquence;") then, a wrong placing of words; and lastly, an ill-framing of the sentence, with a perverse judgment, both of words and sentences. These faults, taking once root in youth, be never or hardly pluckt away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing, that

* Cicero de claris Orat. sect. 72, p. 165, Gronov. edit. in 4to. "Quinetiam in maximis occupationibus quum ad te ipsum (inquit ad me intuens) de ratione Latinè loquendi accuratissimè scripserit; primoque in libro dixerit, Verborum delectum, originem esse eloquentiæ.

hath more either dulled the wits, or taken away the will of children from learning, than the care they have to satisfy their masters in making of Latins.

For the scholar is commonly beat for the making, when the master were more worthy to be beat for the mending, or rather marring of the same: the master many times being as ignorant as the child, what to say properly and fitly to the matter. Making of Latins marreth Children.

Two schoolmasters have set forth in print, either of them a book of such kind of Latins, *Horman and Whittington. A child shall learn of the better of them, that which another day, if he be wise and come to judgement, he must be fain to unlearn again.

There is a way, touched in the † first book of *Cicero de Oratore*, which, wisely brought into schools, truly taught, and constantly used, would not only take wholly away this butcherly fear in making of Latins, but would also with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, work a true choice and placing of words, a right ordering of sentences, an easy understanding of the tongue, a readiness to speak, a facility to write, a true judgement

* I have formerly seen Mr. Horman's book, who was master of Eton school. The book itself could be of no great use, for, as I remember, it was only a collection of single sentences, without order or method, put into Latin.

† The passage here referred to, is in Tully's first book *de Orat.* p. 92, edit. Gron. "Postea mihi placuit, eoque sum usus adolescens, ut summorum oratorum Græcas orationes explicarem. Quibus lectis hoc assequebar, ut, quum ea, quæ legerem Græce, Latine redderem, non solum optimis verbis uterer, et tamen usitatis, sed etiam exprimerem quædam verba imitando, quæ nova nostris essent, dummodo essent idonea."

both of his own and other men's doings, what tongue soever he doth use.

The way is this. After the three concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read unto him the Epistles of Cicero, gathered together, and chosen out by Sturmius, for the capacity of children.

The order of teaching. First, let him teach the child cheerfully and plainly the cause and matter of the letter; then, let him construe it into English so oft, as the child may easily carry away the understanding of it; lastly, parse it over perfitly. This done thus, let the child, by and by, both construe and parse it over again; so that it may appear, that the child doubteth in nothing that his master taught him before. After this, the child must take a paper book, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompt him, by himself, let him translate into English his former lesson. Then showing it to his master, let the master take from him his Latin book, and pausing an hour at the least, then let the child translate Two paper books. his own English into Latin again in another paper book. When the child bringeth it turned into Latin, the master must compare it with Tully's book, and lay them both together; and where the child doth well, either in choosing or true placing of Tully's words, let the master praise him, and say, Children learn by praise. "Here ye do well." For I assure you, there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit, and encourage a will to learning, as is praise.

But if the child miss, either in forgetting a word, or in changing a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not have the master either frown or chide with him, if the child have done his

diligence, and used no truantship therein. For I know by good experience, that a child shall take more profit of two faults gently warned of, than of four things rightly hit: for then the master shall have good occasion to say unto him; "N., Tully would have used such a word, not this: Tully would have placed this word here, not there; would have used this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender: he would have used this mood, this tense, this simple, rather than this compound; this adverb here, not there: he would have ended the sentence with this verb, not with that noun or participle," &c. Gentleness in teaching.

In these few lines I have wrapped up the most tedious part of grammar; and also the ground of almost all the rules that are so busily taught by the master, and so hardly learned by the scholar, in all common schools; which, after this sort, the master shall teach without all error, and the scholar shall learn without great pain; the master being led by so sure a guide, and the scholar being brought into so plain and easy a way. And therefore we do not contemn rules, but we gladly teach rules; and teach them more plainly, sensibly, and orderly, than they be commonly taught in common schools. For when the master shall compare Tully's book with the scholar's translation, let the master, at the first, lead and teach his scholar to join the rules of his grammar book with the examples of his present lesson, until the scholar by himself be able to fetch out of his grammar every rule for every example; so as the grammar book be ever in the scholar's hand, and also used of him as a dictionary for every present use. This is a lively and perfit way of teaching of

rules; where the common way used in common schools, to read the grammar alone by itself, is tedious for the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.

Let your scholar be never afraid to ask you any doubt, but use discreetly the best allurements ye can to encourage him to the same; lest his overmuch fearing of you drive him to seek some misorderly shift; as to seek to be helped by some other book, or to be prompted by some other scholar; and so go about to beguile you much and himself more.

With this way of good understanding the matter, plain construing, diligent parsing, daily translating, cheerful admonishing, and heedful amendiug of faults, never leaving behind just praise for well doing, I would have the scholar brought up withal, till he had read and translated over the first book of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, with a good piece of a comedy of Terence also.

All this while, by mine advice, the child shall use to speak no Latin: for as Cicero saith in like matter, with like words, *Loquendo, male loqui discunt:* and that excellent learned man G. Budæus, in his Greek commentaries, sore complaineth, that when he began to learn the Latin tongue, use of speaking Latin at the table and elsewhere unadvisedly, did bring him to such an evil choice of words, to such a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more, all the days of his life afterward, both for readiness in speaking, and also good judgment in writing.

Latin speaking.

In very deed, *if children were brought up in such

* "Magni interest, quos quisque audiat quotidie domi, quibuscum loquatur à puero; quemadmodum patres, pædagogi,

a house, or such a school, where the Latin tongue were properly and perfitly spoken, as Tiberius and Caius Gracchi were brought up in their mother Cornelia's house; surely then the daily use of speaking were the best and readiest way to learn the Latin tongue. But now, commonly in the best schools in England, for words, right choice is smally regarded, true propriety wholly neglected, confusion is brought in, barbarousness is bred up so in young wits, as afterward they be not only marred for speaking, but also corrupted in judgment, as with much ado, or never at all, they be brought to the right frame again.

Yet all men covet to have their children speak Latin: and so do I very earnestly too. We both have one purpose: we agree in desire, we wish one end: but we differ somewhat in order and way, that leadeth rightly to that end. Other would have them speak * at all adventures; and, so they be speaking, to speak, the master careth not, the scholar knoweth

matres etiam loquantur. Legimus epistolas *Corneliæ, matris* Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in *gremio educatos, quam* in sermone matris." Cic. de claris Orat. p. 181. So p. 154 of the same book: "Fuit Gracchus diligentia *Corneliæ, matris* à puero doctus, et Græcis literis eruditus."

* Here it is plain, Mr. Ascham had Tully in his view. "Plerique in hoc vocem modò, neque eam *scienter, et* vires exercent suas et linguæ celeritatem incitant, *verborumque* frequentia delectantur. In quo fallit *eos, quod audierunt*, Dicendo homines, ut dicant, efficere *solere*. Verè enim etiam illud dicitur, Perverse dicere, homines *perverse dicendo* facillime consequi. Quamobrem in istis ipsis *exercitationibus*, etsi utile est, etiam subitò sæpe dicere, tamen illud utilius *sumpto* spatio ad cogitandum, paratius atque *accuratius* dicere. Caput autem est, quod (ut verè dicam) *minime* facimus (est enim magni laboris, quem plerique fugimus) quam plurimùm scribere." Cicero de Orat. lib I. p. 92.

not, what. This is to seem, and not to be; except it be, to be bold without shame, rash without skill, full of words without wit. I wish to have them speak so, as it may well appear, that the brain doth govern the tongue, and that reason leadeth forth the talk. Socrates's* doctrine is true in Plato, and well marked, and truly uttered by Horace *in Arte Poetica*, "That, wheresoever knowledge doth accompany the wit, there best utterance doth always await upon the tongue." For good understanding must first be bred in the child, which being nourished with skill, and use of writing (as I will teach more largely hereafter) is the only way to bring him to judgment and readiness in speaking; and that in far shorter time (if he follow constantly the trade of this little lesson) than he shall do, by common teaching of the common schools in England.

Much writing breedeth ready speaking.

But to go forward; As you perceive your scholar to go better and better on away, first, with understanding his lesson more quickly, with parsing more readily, with translating more speedily and perfitly than he was wont; after, give him longer lessons to translate; and withal, begin to teach him both in nouns and verbs, what is *proprium*, and what is *translatum*; what *synonymum*, what

The second degree and order in speaking.

* This doctrine of Socrates here mentioned, Crassus seems modestly to contradict, in Tully's first book *de Orat.* calling it rather probable, than true. "Atque illud est probabilius, neque tamen verum, quod Socrates dicere solebat, Omnes in eo quod scirent, satis esse eloquentes." The verses in Horace, which he commends, are well known:

"Scribendi recté, sapere est et principium, et fons.
Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ:
Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur."

diversum; which be *contraria*, and which be most notable *phrases*, in all his lecture: as,

Proprium.	Rex sepultus est magnifice.
Translatum.	Cum illo principe, sepulta est et gloria, et salus reipublicæ.
Synonyma.	Ensis, gladius; Laudare, prædicare.
Diversa.	Diligere, amare; Calere, exardescere; Inimicus, hostis.
Contraria.	Acerbum et luctuosum bellum. Dulcis et læta pax.
Phrases.	Dare verba; *Abjicere obedientiam.

Your scholar then must have the third paper book; in the which, after he hath done his double translation, let him write, after this sort, four of these fore-named six, diligently marked out of every lesson. The third paper book.

Quatuor.	Propria. Translata. Synonyma. Diversa. Contraria. Phrases.

* This is Tully's expression; which I therefore mention, because I have known some question the authority of it. Cic. lib. 1. Offic. "Relinquunt enim, et abjiciunt obedientiam, nec rationi parent." And near the end of the same book; "Non illa omnia relinquat, atque abjiciat? The allusion seems to be, A soldier quitting his post, and casting away his arms.

Or else three, or two, if there be no more; and if there be none of these at all in some lecture, yet not omit the order, but write these:

{ Diversa nulla,
{ Contraria nulla, &c.

This diligent translating, joined with this heedful marking in the foresaid Epistles, and afterward in some plain Oration of Tully, as *pro Lege Manilia*, *pro Archia Poeta*, or in * those three *ad C. Cæsarem*, shall work such a right choice of words, so straight a framing of sentences, such a true judgment, both to write skilfully and speak wittily, as wise men shall both praise and marvel at.

If your scholar do miss sometimes, in marking rightly these foresaid six things, chide not hastily; for that shall both dull his wit, and discourage his diligence; but monish him gently; which shall make him both willing to amend and glad to go forward in love and hope of learning.

Gentleness in teaching.

I have now wished twice or thrice this gentle nature to be in a schoolmaster. And that I have done so, neither by chance, nor without some reason, I will now declare at large, why in mine opinion, love is better than fear, gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightly in learning.

With the common use of teaching and beating in common schools. common schools of England, I will not greatly contend; which, if I did, it were but a small grammatical controversy, neither belonging to heresy

* There are but two Orations properly *ad C. Cæsarem*, viz. *pro Q. Ligario, et rege Deiotaro*: the third is easily understood to be that *pro M. Marcello*.

nor treason, nor greatly touching God nor the prince; although in very deed, in the end, the good or ill bringing up of children, doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our prince, and our whole country, as any one thing doth beside.

I do gladly agree with all good schoolmasters in these points; to have children brought to good perfitness [*perfectness*] in learning, to all honesty in manners, to have all faults rightly amended, to have every vice severely corrected: but for the order and way, that leadeth rightly to these points, we somewhat differ. For commonly many schoolmasters, some as I have seen, moe [more] as I have heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meet with a hard-witted scholar, they rather break him than bow him, rather mar him than mend him. For when the schoolmaster is angry with some other matter, then will he soonest fall to beat his scholar; and though he himself should be punished for his folly, yet must he beat some scholar for his pleasure, though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholar to deserve so. These, ye will say, be fond schoolmasters, and few they be that be found to be such. They be fond indeed, but surely over many such be found everywhere. But this will I say, that even the wisest of your great beaters, do as oft punish nature as they do correct faults. Yea, many times the better nature is sorer punished. For, if one by quickness of wit take his lesson readily, another by hardness of wit taketh it not so speedily; the first is always commended, the other is commonly punished: when a wise schoolmaster should rather discreetly consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so much weigh what either of them is able to

Sharp schoolmasters.

Nature punished.

do now, as what either of them is likely to do hereafter. For this I know, not only by reading of books in my study, but also by experience of life abroad in the world, that those which be commonly the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be old, were never commonly the quickest of wit when they were young. The causes why, amongst other, which be many, that move me thus to think, be these few, which I will reckon.

Quick wits for learning.

Quick wits commonly be apt to take, unapt to keep; soon* hot, and desirous of this and that; as cold, and soon weary of the same again; more quick to enter speedily, than able to pierce far; even like over-sharp tools, whose edges be very soon turned. Such wits delight themselves in easy and pleasant studies, and never pass far forward in high and hard sciences. And therefore the quickest wits commonly may prove the best poets, but not the wisest orators; ready of tongue to speak boldly, not deep of judgment, either for good council or wise writing. Also for manners and life, quick wits commonly be, in desire, newfangled; in purpose, unconstant; light to promise anything, ready to forget every thing, both benefit and injury; and thereby neither fast to friend, nor fearful to foe: inquisitive of every trifle, not secret in the greatest affairs; bold with any person; busy in every matter; soothing such as be present, nipping any that is absent: of nature also, always flattering their betters, envying their equals,

Quick wits for manners and life.

* Thus Aristotle, most admirably describing the nature of youth: Εὐμετάβολοι δὲ, καὶ ἀψίκοροι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταχὺ δὲ παύονται· ὀξεῖαι γὰρ αἱ βουλήσεις, καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι, ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν καμνόντων δίψαι καὶ πεῖναι.

despising their inferiors; and by quickness of wit, very quick and ready to like none so well as themselves.

Moreover, commonly, men very quick of wit be also very light of conditions; and thereby very ready of disposition to be carried over quickly, by any light company, to any riot and unthriftiness when they be young; and therefore seldom either honest of life, or rich in living when they be old. For quick in wit, and light in manners, be either seldom troubled, or very soon weary, in carrying a very heavy purse. Quick wits also be, in most part of all their doings, over quick, hasty, rash, heady, and brain-sick. These two last words, Heady and Brain-sick, be fit and proper words, rising naturally of the matter, and termed aptly by the condition of over-much quickness of wit. In youth also they be ready scoffers, privy mockers, and ever over-light and merry: in age, soon testy, very waspish, and always over-miserable. And yet few of them come to any great age, by reason of their misordered life when they were young; but a great deal fewer of them come to show any great countenance, or bear any great authority abroad in the world, but either live obscurely, men know not how, or die obscurely, men mark not when. They be like trees, that show forth fair blossoms and broad leaves in spring-time, but bring out small and not long lasting fruit in harvest-time; and that only such as fall and rot before they be ripe, and so never, or seldom, come to any good at all. For this ye shall find most true by experience, that, amongst a number of quick wits in youth, few be found in the end either very fortunate for themselves, or very profitable to serve the commonwealth, but decay and vanish, men know not

which way; except a very few, to whom peradventure blood and happy parentage may perchance purchase a long standing upon the stage. The which felicity, because it cometh by others' procuring, not by their own deserving, and stand by other men's feet, and not by their own, what outward brag soever is borne by them, is indeed of itself, and in wise men's eyes, of no great estimation.

Some wits, moderate enough by nature, be many times marred by over-much study and use of some sciences, namely, music, arithmetic, and geometry. These sciences, as they sharpen men's wits over-much, so they change men's manners over-sore, if they be not moderately mingled, and wisely applied to some good use of life.

Some sciences hurt men's wits and mar men's manners.

Mark all mathematical heads, which be only and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitary they be themselves, how unfit to live with others, and how unapt to serve in the world. This is not only known now by common experience, but uttered long before by wise men's judgment and sentence. Galen saith, "Much music marreth men's manners"; and Plato hath a notable place of the same thing in his books *de Repub.* well marked also, and excellently translated by Tully himself. Of this matter I wrote once more at large, twenty year ago, in my *book of Shooting: now I thought but to touch it, to prove that over-much quickness of wit, either given by nature or sharpened by study, doth not commonly bring forth, either greatest learning, best manners, or happiest life in the end.

Mathematical heads.

Contrariwise, a wit in youth that is not over-dull, heavy, knotty, and lumpish; but hard, tough, and

* See Vol. II.

though somewhat staffish, (as Tully wisheth, *otium quietum non languidum*, and *negotium cum labore, non cum periculo*,) such a wit, I say, if it be at the first well handled by the mother, and rightly smoothed and wrought as it should, not over-thwartly, and against the wood, by the school-master, both for learning and whole course of living, proveth always the best. In wood and stone, not the softest, but hardest, be always aptest for portraiture, both fairest for pleasure, and most durable for profit. Hard wits be hard to receive, but sure to keep; painful without weariness, heedful without wavering, constant without newfangleness; bearing heavy things, though not lightly, yet willingly; entering hard things, though not easily, yet deeply; and so come to that perfectness of learning in the end, that quick wits seem in hope, but do not indeed, or else very seldom, ever attain unto. Also for manners and life, hard wits commonly are hardly carried, either to desire every new thing, or else to marvel at every strange thing; and therefore they be careful and diligent in their own matters, not curious and busy in other men's affairs: and so they become wise themselves, and also are counted honest by others. They be grave, steadfast, silent of tongue, secret of heart; not hasty in making, but constant in keeping any promise; not rash in uttering, but wary in considering every matter; and thereby not quick in speaking, but deep of judgment, whether they write or give council in all weighty affairs. And these be the men, that become in the end both most happy for themselves, and also always best esteemed abroad in the world.

Hard wits in manners and life.

I have been longer in describing the nature, the good or ill success, of the quick and hard wits, than

The best wits driven from learning to other living.

perchance some will think this place and matter doth require. But my purpose was hereby plainly to utter, what injury is offered to all learning, and to the commonwealth also, first by the fond father in choosing, but chiefly by the lewd schoolmaster in beating, and driving away the best natures from learning. A child that is still, silent, constant, and somewhat hard of wit, is either never chosen by the father to be made a scholar, or else, when he cometh to the school, he is smally regarded, little looked unto; he lacketh teaching, he lacketh encouraging, he lacketh all things, only he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learning, nor any deed that may drive him from learning, to any other kind of living.

And when this sad-natured and hard-witted child is bet [*beat*] from his book, and becometh after either student of the common law, or page in the court, or servingman, or bound prentice to a merchant, or to some handicraft, he proveth, in the end, wiser, happier, and many times honester too, than many of these quick wits do by their learning.

Hard wits prove best in every kind of life.

Learning is both hindered and injured too, by the ill choice of them that send young scholars to the universities; of whom must needs come all our divines, lawyers, and physicians.

These young scholars be chosen commonly, as young apples be chosen by children in a fair garden about St. James's tide: a child will choose a sweeting, because it is presently fair and pleasant, and refuse a runnet, because it is then green, hard, and sour; when the one, if it be eaten, doth breed both worms and ill humours; the other, if it stand his time, be ordered and kept as it should, is

The ill choice of wits for learning.

wholesome of itself, and helpeth to the good disgestion of other meats. Sweetings will receive worms, rot, and die on the tree, and never or seldom come to the gathering for good and lasting store.

For very grief of heart I will not apply the similitude; but hereby is plainly seen, how learning is robbed of her best wits, first, by the great beating, and after by the ill choosing of scholars to go to the universities: whereof cometh partly that lewd and spiteful proverb, sounding to the great hurt of learning and shame of learned men, that "the greatest clerks be not the wisest men."

And though I, in all this discourse, seem plainly to prefer hard and rough wits, before quick and light wits, both for learning and manners; yet I am not ignorant that some quickness of wit is a singular gift of God, and so most rare amongst men; and namely, such a wit as is quick without lightness, sharp without brittleness, desirous of good things without newfangleness, diligent in painful things without wearisomeness, and constant in good will to do all things well; as I know was in Sir John Cheke, and is in some that yet live, in whom all these fair qualities of wit are fully met together.

But it is notable and true, that Socrates saith in Plato to his friend Phædo; that "That number of men is fewest, which far exceed, either in good or ill, in wisdom or folly; but the mean betwixt both be the greatest number." Which he proveth true in divers other things; as in greyhounds, amongst which few are found exceeding great or exceeding little, exceeding swift or exceeding slow. And therefore, I speaking of quick and hard wits, I meant the common number of quick and

Very good, or very ill men, be fewest in number.

hard wits; amongst the which, for the most part, the hard wit proveth many times the better learned, wiser, and honester man. And therefore do I the more lament, that such wits commonly be either kept from learning by fond fathers, or beat from learning by lewd schoolmasters.

Horsemen be wiser in knowledge of a good colt, than schoolmasters be, in knowledge of a good wit.

And speaking thus much of the wits of children for learning, the opportunity of the place, and goodness of the matter, might require to have here declared the most special notes of a good wit for learning in a child; after the manner and custom of a good horseman, who is skilful to know, and able to tell others, how by certain sure signs a man may choose a colt, that is like to prove another day excellent for the saddle. And it is pity, that commonly more care is had, yea and that among very wise men, to find out rather a cunning man for their horse, than a cunning man for their children. They say nay in word, but they do so in deed: for to the one they will gladly give a stipend of two hundred crowns by the year, and loth to offer to the other two hundred shillings. God that sitteth in heaven laugheth their choice to scorn, and rewardeth their liberality as it should; for he suffereth them to have tame and well-ordered horse, but wild and unfortunate children; and therefore in the end they find more pleasure in their horse than comfort in their children.

A good rider better rewarded than a good schoolmaster.

Horse well broken, children ill taught.

But concerning the true notes of the best wits for learning in a child, I will report not mine own opinion, but the very judgment of him that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention

of; and that is Socrates in Plato,* who expresseth orderly these seven plain notes, to choise [*choose*] a good wit in a child for learning. True notes of a good wit.

1. ΕΥ'ΦΥΗ'Σ.
2. ΜΝΗ'ΜΩΝ.
3. ΦΙΛΟΜΑΘΗ'Σ.
4. ΦΙΛΟ'ΠΟΝΟΣ.
5. ΦΙΛΗ'ΚΟΟΣ.
6. ΖΗΤΗΤΙΚΟ'Σ.
7. ΦΙΛΕ'ΠΑΙΝΟΣ.

* It may not be amiss, to present the reader with the whole passage out of Plato, though somewhat long; since not only the notes and characters themselves, but the explanation of them, are in some measure thence taken by our author.

Δριμύτητα, ὦ μακάριε, (ἔφην) δεῖ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα ὑπάρχειν, καὶ μὴ χαλεπῶς μανθάνειν· πολὺ γάρ τοι μᾶλλον ἀποδειλιῶσι ψυχαὶ ἐν ἰσχυροῖς μαθήμασιν, ἢ ἐν γυμνασίοις· οἰκειότερος γὰρ αὐταῖς ὁ πόνος, ἴδιος, ἀλλ' οὐ κοινὸς ὢν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος. Ἀληθῆ, *ἔφη.* Καὶ *μνήμονα δὲ, καὶ ἄκρατον, καὶ πάντα φιλόπονον ζητητέον. ἢ τίνι τρόπῳ οἴει τά τε τοῦ σώματος ἐθελήσειν τινὰ διαπονεῖν, καὶ τοσαύτην μάθησίν τε καὶ μελέτην ἐπιτελεῖν;* Οὐδένα, *ἦδ' ὅς, ἐὰν μὴ παντάπασιν ᾖ εὐφυής.*

Τὸ γοῦν νῦν ἁμάρτημα (ἦνδ' ἐγὼ) καὶ ἡ ἀτιμία Φιλοσοφίᾳ διὰ ταῦτα προσπέπτωκεν (ὁ καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν) ὅτι οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτῆς ἅπτονται. Οὐ γὰρ νόθους ἔδει ἅπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ γνησίους. Πῶς; *ἔφη. Πρῶτον μὲν, εἶπον, φιλοπονίᾳ οὐ χωλὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἁψόμενον, τὰ μὲν ἡμίσεα φιλόπονον ὄντα, τὰ δὲ ἡμίσεα, ἄπονον. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο, ὅταν τὶς φιλογυμναστὴς μὲν, καὶ φιλόθηρος ᾖ, καὶ (πάντα τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος φιλοπονῇ. φιλομαθὴς δὲ μὴ, μηδὲ φιλήκοος, μηδὲ ζητητικός· ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις μισοπονῇ, χωλὸς δὲ, καὶ ὁ τἀναντία τούτου μεταβεβληκὼς τὴν φιλοπονίαν.*

The reader will observe the last note *φιλέπαινος* is not here expressed; and I question very much, whether there be any such word in the Greek language. In this sense *φιλότιμος* is generally used: as in Xenophon, speaking of Cyrus, *φιλομαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος·* and in another place, *ὁρᾷς ὡς φιλότιμός ἐστι, καὶ ἐλευθέριος*: or else a periphrasis, as *ἐπαίνου ἐραστὴς, ὀρεγόμενος, ἐφιέμενος,* or some such like.

And because I write English, and to Englishmen, I will plainly declare in English both what these words of Plato mean, and how aptly they be linked, and how orderly they follow one another.

1. ΕΥ᾽ΦΥΗ᾽Σ,

Is he, that is apt by goodness of wit, and appliable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body, that must another day serve learning; not troubled, mangled, and halved, but sound, whole, full, and able to do their office; as, a tongue not stammering, or over-hardly drawing forth words, but plain and ready to deliver the meaning of the mind; a voice not soft, weak, piping, womanish, but audible, strong, and manlike; a countenance not weerish and crabbed, but fair and comely; a personage not wretched and deformed, but tall and goodly; for surely,* a comely countenance with a goodly stature giveth credit to learning, and authority to the person; otherwise, commonly, either open contempt or private disfavour doth hurt or hinder both person and learning;

Wit—will.

The tongue.

The voice—face.

Stature.

Learning joined with a comely personage.

* Thus Xenophon in his Institution of Cyrus, designing rather, as Tully supposes, a model of a just and complete government, than a true relation of things performed, has described his prince with all these happy endowments both of mind and body:

Φῦναι δὲ ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται, καὶ ᾄδεται ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος, ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος, καὶ φιλομαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος, ὥστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀνατλῆναι, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομεῖναι τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἕνεκα. And again in the same book: *Ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλομαθὴς εἶναι, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀνηρώτα, πῶς ἔχοντα τυγχάνοι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἐρωτῷτο, διὰ τὸ ἀγχίνους εἶναι, ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνετο.*

and even as* a fair stone requireth to be set in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it leeseth much of the grace and price; even so excellence in learning, and namely divinity, joined with a comely personage, is a marvellous jewel in the world. And how can a comely body be better employed than to serve the fairest exercise of God's greatest gift? and that is learning. But commonly the fairest bodies are bestowed on the foulest purposes. I would it were not so; and with examples herein I will not meddle; yet I wish that those should both mind it and meddle with it, which have most occasion to look to it, as good and wise fathers should do; and greatest authority to amend it, as good and wise magistrates ought to do. And yet I will not let openly to lament the unfortunate case of learning herein.

Deformed creatures commonly set to learning.

For if a father have four sons, three fair and well formed both mind and body, the fourth wretched, lame, and deformed; his choice shall be to put the worst to learning, as one good enough to become a scholar. I have spent the most part of my life in the university, and therefore I can bear good witness that many fathers commonly do thus: whereof I have heard many wise, learned, and as good men as ever I knew, make great and oft complaint. A good horseman will choose no such colt, neither for his own nor yet for his master's saddle. And thus much of the first note.

2. ΜΝΗ'ΜΩΝ,

Good of memory: a special part of the first note

* Virgil. lib. i. v. 596.
"Quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
Argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro."

Memory. εὐφυὴς, and a mere benefit of nature; yet it is so necessary for learning, as Plato maketh it a separate and perfect note of itself, and that so principal a note, as without it all other gifts of nature do small service to learning. Afranius,* that old Latin poet, maketh Memory the mother of learning and wisdom, saying thus:

"Usus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria."

And though it be the mere gift of nature, yet is memory well preserved by use, and much increased by order, as our scholar must learn another day in the university. But in a child a good memory is well known by three properties; that is, if it be quick in receiving, sure in keeping, and ready in delivering forth again.

Three sure signs of a good memory.

3. ΦΙΛΟΜΑΘΗΣ,

Given to love learning: for though a child have all the gifts of nature at wish, and perfection of memory at will, yet if he have not a special love to learning, he shall never attain to much learning. And therefore Isocrates,† one of the noblest schoolmasters that

* Aul. Gell. lib. 13. cap. 8. Versus Afranii sunt in togata, cui Sellæ nomen est:

"Usus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria:
Sophiam vocant me Graii, vos Sapientiam."

† Dionysius, in his treatise of the ancient Greek orators, gives us this great character of Isocrates: Ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ αὐτὸν ἀκμασάντων χρόνον, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Ἀθήνησί τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι νέων παιδεύσας ——. Καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἰκόνα ποιήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Σχολὴν, κατὰ τὰς ἀποικίας τῶν λόγων.

And so eminent for learning and wisdom were his scholars, that, as Dionysius informs us, Hermippus thought fit to write their History: ὁ τοὺς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράψας Ἕρμιππος.

is in memory of learning, who taught kings and princes, as Halicarnassæus writeth; and out of whose school, as Tully saith, came forth * more noble captains, more wise counsellors, than did out of Epeus's horse at Troy: this Isocrates, I say, did cause to be written at the entry of his school in golden letters this golden sentence, † Ἐὰν ἦς φιλομαθὴς, ἔσῃ πολυμαθής: which excellently said in Greek, is thus rudely in English, "If thou love learning, thou shalt attain to much learning."

4. ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΟΣ,

Is he that hath a lust to labour and a will to take pains: for if a child have all the benefits of nature, with perfection of memory, love, like, and praise learning never so much, yet if he be not of himself painful, he shall never attain unto it. And yet where love is present, labour is seldom absent, and namely in study of learning, and matters of the mind: and therefore did Isocrates rightly judge, that if his scholar were φιλομαθὴς, he cared for no more. Aristotle, ‡ vary-

* "Ecce tibi exortus est Isocrates, magister istorum omnium, cujus e ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt: sed eorum partim in pompa, partim in acie illustres esse voluerunt." Cic. de Orat. lib. 2.

† This sentence is likewise in his Paræsis to Dæmonicus.

‡ This emulation between Isocrates and Aristotle is mentioned by Tully more than once. "Ipse Aristoteles, quum florere Isocratem nobilitate discipulorum videret, quod ipse suas disputationes a causis forensibus et civilibus ad inanem sermonis elegantiam transtulisset, mutavit repente totam formam prope disciplinæ suæ, versumque quendam de Philocteta paulo secus dixit. Ille enim turpe sibi ait esse tacere, quum Barbaros, hic autem, quum Isocratem pateretur dicere." De Orat. lib. 3.

ing from Isocrates in private affairs of life, but agreeing with Isocrates in common judgment of learning, for love and labour in learning, is of the same opinion, uttered in these words, in his Rhetorick *ad Theodecten*;* "Liberty kindleth love; love refuseth no labour; and labour obtaineth whatsoever it seeketh." And yet, nevertheless, goodness of nature may do little good, perfection of memory may serve to small use, all love may be employed in vain, any labour may be soon gravelled, if a man trust always to his own singular wit, and will not be glad sometime to hear, take advice, and learn of another; and therefore doth Socrates very notably add the fifth note:

5. ΦΙΛΗ'ΚΟΟΣ,

He that is glad to hear and learn of another: for otherwise he shall stick with great trouble, where he might go easily forward; and also catch hardly a very little by his own toil, when he might gather quickly a good deal by another man's teaching. But now there be some that have great love to learning, good lust to labour, be willing to learn of others; yet, either of a fond shamefacedness, or else of a proud folly, they dare not, or will not, go to learn of another: and therefore doth Socrates wisely add the sixth note of a good wit in a child for learning, and that is

The parody he used, though ingenious, was too severe on so great a man:

Αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾷν, Ἰσοκράτην τ' ἐᾷν λέγειν:

Inverting this verse of Euripides,

Αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾷν, βαρβάρους τ' ἐᾷν λέγειν.

* See the beginning of the second book.

6. ΖΗΤΗΤΙΚΟ῾Σ,

He that is naturally bold to ask any question, desirous to search out any doubt; not ashamed to learn of the meanest, nor afraid to go to the greatest, until he be perfectly taught and fully satisfied. The seventh and last point is,

7. ΦΙΛΕ῾ΠΑΙΝΟΣ,

He that loveth to be praised for well doing, at his father or master's hand. A child of this nature will earnestly love learning, gladly labour for learning, willingly learn of other, boldly ask any doubt.

And thus, by Socrates's judgment, a good father, and a wise schoolmaster, should choose a child to make a scholar of, that hath by nature the foresaid perfect qualities, and comely furniture both of mind and body; hath memory quick to receive, sure to keep, and ready to deliver; hath love to learning; hath lust to labour; hath desire to learn of others; hath boldness to ask any question; hath mind wholly bent to win praise by well doing.

The two first points be special benefits of nature; which, nevertheless, be well preserved and much increased by good order. But as for the five last, love, labour, gladness to learn of others, boldness to ask doubts, and will to win praise, be won and maintained by the only wisdom and discretion of the schoolmaster. Which five points, whether a schoolmaster shall work sooner in a child by fearful beating, or courteous handling, you that be wise, judge.

Yet some men, wise indeed, but, in this matter, more by severity of nature than any wisdom at all, do laugh at us, when we thus wish and reason, that

young children should rather be allured to learning by gentleness and love, than compelled to learning by beating and fear: they say "our reasons serve only to breed forth talk, and pass away time; but we never saw good schoolmaster do so, nor never read of wise man that thought so."

Yes forsooth, as wise as they be, either in other men's opinion, or in their own conceit, I will bring the contrary judgment of him, who, they themselves shall confess, was as wise as they are, or else they may be justly thought to have small wit at all; and that is Socrates, whose judgment in Plato is plainly this, in these words; which, because they be very notable,* I will recite them in his own tongue: Οὐδὲν μάθημα μετὰ δουλείας [τὸν ἐλεύθερον] χρὴ μανθάνειν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος πόνοι βίᾳ πονούμενοι, χεῖρον οὐδὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται· ψυχῇ δὲ βίαιον οὐδὲν ἔμμονον μάθημα. In English thus: "No learning ought to be learned with bondage: for bodily labours, wrought by compulsion, hurt not the body; but any learning learned by compulsion, tarrieth not long in the mind." And why? For whatsoever the mind doth learn unwillingly with fear, the same it doth quickly forget without care. And lest proud wits, that love not to be contraried, but have lust to wrangle or trifle away truth, will say, that Socrates meaneth not this of children's teaching, but of some other higher learning; hear what Socrates in the same place doth more plainly say: Μὴ ποίνυν βίᾳ, ὦ ἄριστε, τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ παίζοντας τρέφε: That is to say; "And therefore, my dear friend, bring not up your children in learning by

* This passage is cited in the preface of this book.

compulsion and fear, but by playing and pleasure." And you that do read Plato as you should, do well perceive, that these be no questions asked by Socrates as doubts, but they be sentences, first affirmed by Socrates as mere truths, and after given forth by Socrates as right rules, most necessary to be marked, and fit to be followed of all them that would have children taught as they should. And in this counsel, judgment, and authority of Socrates I will repose myself, until I meet with a man of the contrary mind, whom I may justly take to be wiser than I think Socrates was.

The right reading of Plato.

Fond schoolmasters neither can understand, nor will follow this good counsel of Socrates; but wise riders in their office can and will do both; which is the only cause that commonly the young gentlemen of England go so unwillingly to school, and run so fast to the stable. For in very deed, fond schoolmasters, by fear, do beat into them the hatred of learning; and wise riders, by gentle allurements, do breed up in them the love of riding. They find fear and bondage in schools, they feel liberty and freedom in stables; which causeth them utterly to abhor the one, and most gladly to haunt the other. And I do not write this, that, in exhorting to the one, I would dissuade young gentlemen from the other; yea, I am sorry with all my heart that they be given no more to riding than they be. For of all outward qualities, to ride fair is most comely for himself, most necessary for his country; and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praise, the more he doth exceed all other therein. It was one of the three excellent praises amongst the noble gentlemen of the old

Young gentlemen be wiselier taught to ride, by common riders, than to learn by common schoolmasters.

Riding.

Persians; "Always to say truth, to ride fair, and shoot well:" and so it was engraven * upon Darius's tomb, as Strabo beareth witness:

> Darius the king lieth buried here,
> Who in riding and shooting had never peer.

But to our purpose: Young men, by any means leesing the love of learning, when by time they come to their own rule, they carry commonly from the school with them a perfect hatred of their master, and a continual contempt of learning. If ten gentlemen be asked, why they forgot so soon in court, that which they were learning so long in school, eight of them, or let me be blamed, will lay the fault on their ill-handling by their schoolmasters.

Cuspinian doth report, that that noble emperor Maximilian would lament very oft † his misfortune herein.

* This inscription is twice mentioned in his Toxophilus. Strabo's words are these: *Μέμνηται δ' Ὀνησίκρατος καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δαρείου τάφῳ γράμμα τόδε·*

ΦΙΛΟΣ *ἦν τοῖς φίλοις· ἱππεὺς καὶ τοξότης ἄριστος ἐγενόμην· κυνηγῶν ἐκράτουν· παντα ποιεῖν ἠδυνάμην.* Strabo 15.

† This is the passage he alludes to in Cuspinian: "Ubi habilis per ætatem ad literas addiscendas fuit, magistro Petro, qui postea Novæ Civitatis antistes erat, traditus, aliquot annis cum nobilium quorundam filiis contubernalibus Latinas didicit literas. Sed quum ejus præceptor, solis dialecticis argutiis doctus, sophismata illi inculcare vellet, ad quæ capessenda aptus non erat, sæpius atrociter verberatus ab eo, magis ipse verberandus (quum verbera servos deceant, non liberos) tandem effecit, ut literas magis odio haberet, quam diligeret. Quod tamen præcipuum esse debet addiscenti literas, quemadmodum omnes docent boni præceptores.

"Audivi ex ore divi Maximiliani hoc verbum, quod nunquam e memoria mea excidet, quod jam Romanorum rex fac-

Yet some men will say, that children, of nature, love pastime, and mislike learning; because, in their kind, the one is easy and pleasant, the other hard and wearisome. Which is an opinion not so true as some men ween. For the matter lieth not so much in the disposition of them that be young, as in the order and manner of bringing up by them that be old; nor yet in the difference of learning and pastime. For beat a child if he dance not well, and cherish him though he learn not well, you shall have him unwilling to go to dance, and glad to go to his book: knock him always when he draweth his shaft ill, and favour him again though he fault at his book, you shall have him very loth to be in the field, and very willing to go to school. Yea, I say more, and not of myself, but by the judgment of those from whom few wise men will gladly dissent; that if ever the nature of man be given at any time, more than other, to receive goodness, it is in innocency of young years, before that experience of evil have taken root in him: "For the pure clean wit of a sweet young babe, is like the newest wax, most able to receive the best and fairest printing; and, like a new bright silver dish never occupied, to receive, and keep clean, any good thing that is put into it. Pastime—learning.

And thus will in children, wisely wrought withal,

tus, in mensa, ut solebat de variis loqui, multis adstantibus, dixerat. 'Si,' inquit, 'hodie præceptor meus viveret Petrus, quanquam multa præceptoribus debeamus, efficerem, ut se instituisse me pœniteret. Quam multa enim bonis præceptoribus, qui recte instituunt pueros, debemus, tam multis plagis sunt onerandi indocti pædagogi, qui pretiosissimum ætatis tempus perdunt, et ea docent, quæ dediscere multo labore necesse est.'"

Will } in children
Wit }

may easily be won to be very well willing to learn: "And wit in children, by nature, namely memory,* the only key and keeper of all learning, is readiest to receive, and surest to keep any manner of thing that is learned in youth." This, lewd and learned, by common experience, know to be most true. For we remember nothing so well when we be old, as those things which we learned when we were young. And this is not strange, but common in all nature's works. "Every man seeth (as I said before) new wax is best for printing, new clay fittest for working, new-shorn wool aptest for soon and surest dyeing, new-fresh flesh for good and durable salting." And this similitude is not rude, nor borrowed of the larder-house, but out of his schoolhouse, of whom the wisest of England need not be ashamed to learn. "Young grafts grow not only soonest, but also fairest, and bring always forth the best and sweetest fruit; young whelps learn easily to carry; young popinjays learn quickly to speak." And so, to be short, if in all other things, though they lack reason, sense, and life, the similitude of youth is fittest to all goodness; surely nature in mankind is most beneficial and effectual in this behalf.

Young years aptest for learning.

Therefore, if to the goodness of nature be joined the wisdom of the teacher, in leading young wits into a right and plain way of learning; surely children, kept up in God's fear, and governed by his grace, may most easily be brought well to serve God and their country, both by virtue and wisdom.

* "Quid dicam de thesauro rerum omnium Memoria, quæ nisi custos inventis cogitatisque rebus et verbis adhibeatur, intelligimus omnia, etiamsi præclarissima fuerint, in oratore peritura?" Cic. de Orat. lib. 1.

But if will and wit, by farther age, be once allured from innocency, delighted in vain sights, filled with foul talk, crooked with wilfulness, hardened with stubbornness, and let loose to disobedience; surely it is hard with gentleness, but unpossible with severe cruelty, to call them back to good frame again. For where the one perchance may mend it, the other shall surely break it; and so, instead of some hope, leave an assured desperation, and * shameless contempt of all goodness; the furthest point in all mischief, as Xenophon doth most truly and most wittily mark.

Therefore, to love or to hate, to like or contemn, to ply this way or that way to good or to bad, ye shall have as ye use a child in his youth.

And one example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child for virtue and learning, I will gladly report; which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit.

Before I went into Germany,† I came to Broadgate

* This is the passage, I suppose: *Ἔπεσθαι δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἡ ἀναισχυντία· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἡγεμών.*

† This discourse with this excellent lady, he thus expresses in a letter to his friend Sturmius: "Hac superiore æstate, quum amicos meos in agro Eboracensi viserem, et inde literis Joannis Checi in Aulam, ut huc proficiscerer, accitus sum, in via deflexi Leicestriam, ubi Jana Graia cum patre habitaret. Statim admissus sum in cubiculum: inveni nobilem puellam, Dii boni! legentem Græce Phædonem Platonis; quem sic intelligit, ut mihi ipsi summam admirationem injiceret. Sic loquitur et scribit Græce, ut vera referenti vix fides adhiberi possit. Nacta est præceptorem Joannem Elmarum, utriusque linguæ valde peritum; propter humanitatem, prudentiam, usum, rectam religionem, et alia multa rectissimæ amicitiæ vincula, mihi conjunctissimum."

in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady Lady Jane Grey. Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholding. Her parents, the duke and duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park. I found her in her chamber, reading *Phædo Platonis* in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccace. After salutation, and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, why she would leese such pastime in the park? Smiling, she answered me; "I wist, all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant." "And how came you, madam," quoth I, "to this deep knowledge of pleasure? and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained thereunto?" "I will tell you," quoth she, "and tell you a truth, which perchance ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother; whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else; I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly, as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr Elmer; who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time no-

thing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me."

I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady.

I could be over long, both in showing just causes, and in reciting true examples, why learning should be taught rather by love than fear. He that would see a perfect discourse of it, let him read that learned treatise, which my friend Joan. Sturmius wrote, *De Institutione Principis*, to the duke of Cleves.

The goodly counsels of Solomon and Jesus the son of Sirach, for sharp keeping in and bridling of youth, are meant rather for fatherly correction, than masterly beating; rather for manners, than for learning; for other places, than for schools. For God forbid, but all evil touches, wantonness, lying, picking, sloth, will, stubbornness, and disobedience, should be with sharp chastisement daily cut away.

Qui parcit virgæ, odit filium.

This discipline was well known, and diligently used, among the Grecians and old Romans; as doth appear in Aristophanes, Isocrates, and Plato, and also in the Comedies of Plautus; where we see that children were under the rule of three persons, *præceptore, pædagogo, parente.* The schoolmaster taught him learning with all gentleness; the go-

1. Schoolmaster; 2. Governor; 3. Father.

vernor corrected his manners with much sharpness; the father held the stern of his whole obedience. And so he that used to teach, did not commonly use to beat, but remitted that over to another man's charge. But what shall we say, when now in our days the schoolmaster is used both for *præceptor* in learning and *pædagogus* in manners? Surely, I would he should not confound their offices, but discreetly use the duty of both; so that neither ill touches should be left unpunished, nor gentleness in teaching anywise omitted. And he shall well do both, if wisely he do appoint diversity of time, and separate place, for either purpose; using always such discreet moderation, as the school-house should be counted a sanctuary against fear, and very well learning a common pardon for ill doing, if the fault of itself be not over heinous.

The school-house.

And thus the children, kept up in God's fear, and preserved by his grace, finding pain in ill doing, and pleasure in well studying, should easily be brought to honesty of life, and perfectness of learning; the only mark that good and wise fathers do wish and labour that their children should most busily and carefully shoot at.

Youth of England brought up with too much liberty.

There is another discommodity, besides cruelty in schoolmasters in beating away the love of learning from children, which hindereth learning, and virtue, and good bringing up of youth, and namely young gentlemen, very much in England. This fault is clean contrary to the first. I wished before, to have love of learning bred up in children: I wish as much now, to have young men brought up in good order of living, and in some more severe discipline, than commonly they be. We

have lack in England of such good order as the old noble Persians so carefully used; whose children, to the age of twenty-one years, were brought up in learning, and exercises of labour;* and that in such place, where they should neither see that was uncomely, nor hear that was unhonest. Yea, a young gentleman was never free to go where he would, and do what he list himself; but under the keep, and by the counsel of some grave governor, until he was either married, or called to bear some office in the commonwealth.

And see the great obedience that was used in old time to fathers and governors. No son, were he never so old of years, never so great of birth, though he were a king's son, might marry, but by his father's and mother's also consent. Cyrus the Great, after he had conquered Babylon and subdued rich king Crœsus, with whole Asia Minor, coming triumphantly home, his uncle Cyaxares offered him his daughter to wife. Cyrus thanked his uncle, and praised the maid; but for marriage, he answered him with these wise and sweet words, as they be uttered by Xenophon: Ἀλλ', ὦ Κυαξάρη, τό, τε γένος ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν παῖδα, καὶ δῶρα· βούλομαι δὲ, ἔφη σὺν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς μητρὸς ταῦτά σοι συναινέσαι· † That is to say, "Uncle Cyaxares, I commend the stock, I like

* Ἔστιν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευθέρα Ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, ἔνθα τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποίηται· ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὤνια, καὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ, καὶ ἀπειροκαλίαι ἀπελήλανται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ὡς μὴ μιγνύηται ἡ τούτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμίᾳ. I see no difference between this college in Persia, and one here in England; excepting that theirs was joined to the court, and so was more in the eye of the world.—Cyri, Pæd. 7.

† Cyri Pæd. 8.

the maid, and I allow well the dowry; but (saith he) by the counsel and consent of my father and mother, I will determine farther of these matters."

Strong Samson also in Scripture saw a maid that liked him; but he spake not to her, but went home to his father and his mother, and desired both father and mother to make the marriage for him. Doth this modesty, doth this obedience, that was in great King Cyrus and stout Samson, remain in our young men at this day? No surely: for we live not longer after them by time, than we live far different from them by good order. Our time is so far from that old discipline and obedience, as now, not only young gentlemen, but even very girls, dare, without all fear, though not without open shame, where they list, and how they list, marry themselves in spite of father, mother, God, good order, and all. The cause of this evil is, that youth is least looked unto, when they stand in most need of good keep and regard. It availeth not to see them well taught in young years, and after when they come to lust and youthful days, to give them licence to live as they lust themselves. For if you suffer the eye of a young gentleman once to be entangled with vain sights, and the ear to be corrupted with fond or filthy talk, the mind shall quickly fall sick, and soon vomit, and cast up all the wholesome doctrine that he received in childhood, though he were never so well brought up before. And being once inglutted with vanity, he will straightway loathe all learning, and all good counsel to the same; and the parents, for all their great cost and charge, reap only in the end the fruit of grief and care.

Great men's sons worst brought up.

This evil is not common to poor men, as God will have it, but proper to rich

and great men's children, as they deserve it. Indeed from seven to seventeen, young gentlemen commonly be carefully enough brought up; but from seventeen to seven-and-twenty (the most dangerous time of all a man's life, and most slippery to stay well in) they have commonly the rein of all licence in their own hand, and especially such as do live in the court. And that which is most to be marvelled at, commonly the wisest and also best men, be found the fondest fathers in this behalf. And if some good father would seek some remedy herein, yet the mother (if the house hold of our lady) had rather, yea, and will too, have her son cunning and bold, in making him to live trimly when he is young, than by learning and travel to be able to serve his prince and his country, both wisely in peace, and stoutly in war, when he is old.

Wise men fond fathers.

The fault is in yourselves, ye noblemen's sons, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame, that commonly the meaner men's children come to be the wisest counsellors and greatest doers, in the weighty affairs of this realm. And why? for God will have it so of his providence, because ye will have it no otherwise by your negligence.

Mean men's sons come to great authority.

And God is a good God, and wisest in all his doings, that will place virtue, and displace vice, in those kingdoms where he doth govern. For he knoweth, that nobility without virtue and wisdom, is blood indeed, but blood truly without bones and sinews; and so of itself, without the other, very weak to bear the burthen of weighty affairs.

Nobility without wisdom.

The greatest ship indeed commonly carrieth the greatest burthen, but yet always with the greatest jeopardy, not only for the persons and goods commit-

ted unto it, but even for the ship itself, except it be governed with the greatest wisdom.

Nobility with wisdom.

But nobility, governed by learning and wisdom, is indeed most like a fair ship, having tide and wind at will, under the rule of a skilful master: when contrariwise, a ship carried, yea, with the highest tide and greatest wind, lacking a skilful master, most commonly doth either sink itself upon sands, or break itself upon rocks. And even so, how many have been either drowned in vain pleasure, or overwhelmed by stout wilfulness, the histories of England be able to afford over-many examples unto us. Therefore, ye great and noblemen's children, if ye will have rightfully that praise, and enjoy surely that place which your fathers have, and elders had, and left unto you, ye must keep it as they gat it; and that is, by the only way of virtue, wisdom, and worthiness.

Nobility with wisdom, without do.

Vain pleasure and stout wilfulness, two greatest enemies to nobility.

For wisdom and virtue, there be many fair examples in this court for young gentlemen to follow; but they be like fair marks in the field, out of a man's reach, too far off to shoot at well. The best and worthiest men indeed be sometimes seen, but seldom talked withal. A young gentleman may sometimes kneel to their person, but smally use their company for their better instruction.

But young gentlemen are fain commonly to do in the court, as young archers do in the field; that is, take such marks as be nigh them, although they be never so foul to shoot at: I mean, they be driven to keep company with the worst; and what force ill company hath to corrupt good wits, the wisest men know best.

Ill company marreth youth.

And not ill company only, but the ill opinion also of the most part doth much harm; and namely of those which should be wise in the true deciphering of the good disposition of nature, of comeliness in courtly manners, and all right doings of men.

The court judgeth worst of the best natures in youth.

But error and phantasy do commonly occupy the place of truth and judgment. For, if a young gentleman be demure and still of nature, they say he is simple and lacketh wit; if he be bashful, and will soon blush, they call him a babish and ill brought up thing; when Xenophon doth precisely note in Cyrus, that "his * bashfulness in youth, was the very true sign of his virtue and stoutness after." If he be innocent and ignorant of ill, they say he is rude, and hath no grace: so ungraciously do some graceless men misuse the fair and godly word *grace*.

The grace in court.

Bnt if ye would know what grace they mean, go and look, and learn amongst them, and ye shall see that it is,

First, to blush at nothing; and "blushing in youth," saith Aristotle, "is nothing else but fear to do ill:" which fear being once lustily frayed away from youth, then followeth to dare do any mischief, to contemn stoutly any goodness, to be busy in every matter, to be skilful in every thing, to acknowledge no ignorance at all. To do thus in court, is counted of some the chief and greatest grace of all; and termed

Grace of court.

* This is the place in Xenophon. ——Ὡς δὲ προῆγεν ὁ χρόνος αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ μεγέθει εἰς ὥραν τοῦ πρόσηβον γενέσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις βραχυτέροις ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἡσυχαιτέρᾳ· αἰδοῦς δὲ ἐνεπίμπλατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐρυθραίνεσθαι, ὁπότε συντυγχάνοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. Cyri Pæd. 1.

by the name of a virtue, called courage and boldness; when Crassus in Cicero teacheth the clean contrary, and that most wittily, saying thus, *Audere, cum bonis etiam rebus conjunctum, per seipsum est magnopere fugiendum:* which is to say, "To be bold, yea in a good matter, is for itself greatly to be eschewed." *

Boldness, yea in a good matter, not to be praised.

Moreover, where the swing goeth, there too follow, fawn, flatter, laugh, and lie lustily at other men's liking: to face, stand foremost, shove back: and to the meaner man, or unknown in the court, to seem somewhat solemn, coy, big, and dangerous of look, talk, and answer: to think well of himself, to be lusty in contemning of others, to have some trim grace in a privy mock: and in greater presence to bear a brave look to be warlike, though he never looked enemy in the face in war; yet some warlike sign must be used, either a slovenly buskin, or an overstaring frounced head, as though out of every hair's top should suddenly start out a good big oath when need requireth. Yet, praised be God, England hath at this time many worthy captains and good soldiers, which be indeed so honest of behaviour, so comely of conditions, so mild of manners, as they may be examples of good order to a good sort of others, which never came in war.—But to return where I left: In place also to be able to raise talk, and make discourse of every rishe †; to have a very good will to hear himself speak; to be seen in palmistry, whereby to convey to chaste ears some fond and filthy talk.

More grace of court.

Men of war best of condition.

Palmistry.

* Cic. de Orat. 3.

† This is the reading of edd. 1570—71. Upton renders it *rush*.

And if some Smithfield ruffian take up some strange going, some new mowing with the mouth, some wrinching with the shoulders, some brave proverb, some fresh new oath that is not stale, but will run round in the mouth; some new disguised garment, or desperate hat, fond in fashion, or garish in colour, whatsoever it cost, how small soever his living be, by what shift soever it be gotten, gotten must it be, and used with the first, or else the grace of it is stale and gone. Some part of this graceless grace was described by me in a little rude verse long ago.

To laugh, to lie, to flatter, to face,
Four ways in court to win men grace.
If thou be thrall to none of these,
Away good Peckgoose, hence John Cheese.
Mark well my word, and mark their deed,
And think this verse part of thy creed.

Would to God this talk were not true, and that some men's doings were not thus. I write not to hurt any, but to profit some; to accuse none, but to monish such who, allured by ill counsel, and following ill example, contrary to their good bringing up, and against their own good nature, yield overmuch to these follies and faults. I know many serving-men of good order, and well staid; and again, I hear say there be some serving-men do but ill service to their young masters. Yea, read Terence and Plautus advisedly over, and ye shall find in those two wise writers, almost in every comedy, no unthrifty young man, that is not brought thereunto by the subtle enticement of some lewd servant. And even now in our days, Getæ, and Davi, Gnathos, and many bold bawdy Phormios too, be pressing in to prattle on

m { Counsel / Company.

Serving-men.

Servi corruptela juvenum.

every stage, to meddle in every matter; when honest Parmenos shall not be heard, but bear small swing with their masters. Their company, their talk, their over great experience in mischief, doth easily corrupt the best natures, and best brought up wits.

Multi Getæ, pauci Parmenones.

But I marvel the less that these misorders be among some in the court; for commonly in the country also every where, innocency is gone, bashfulness is vanished; much presumption in youth, small authority in age; reverence is neglected, duties be confounded; and, to be short, disobedience doth overflow the banks of good order almost in every place, almost in every degree of man.

Misorders in the country.

Mean men have eyes to see, and cause to lament, and occasion to complain of these miseries; but other have authority to remedy them, and will do so too, when God shall think time fit. For all these misorders be God's just plagues, by his sufferance brought justly upon us for our sins, which be infinite in number, and horrible in deed; but namely for the great abominable sin of unkindness: but what unkindness? even such unkindness as was in the Jews, in contemning God's voice, in shrinking from his word, in wishing back again for Egypt, in committing adultery and whoredom, not with the women, but with the doctrine of Babylon, and* did bring all the plagues, destructions, and captivities, that fell so oft and horrible upon Israel.

Contempt of God's true religion.

We have cause also in England to beware of unkindness, who have had in so few years the candle of God's word so oft lightened, so oft put out; and yet will venture by our unthankfulness in doc-

Doctrina—mores.

* Edit. Mayor, &c., omit *and*.

trine and sinful life, to leese again light, candle, candlestick and all.

God keep us in his fear; God graft in us the true knowledge of his word, with a forward will to follow it, and so to bring forth the sweet fruits of it; and then shall he preserve us by his grace from all manner of terrible days.

The remedy of this doth not stand only in making good common laws for the whole realm, *Publicæ leges.* but also (and perchance chiefly) in observing private discipline, every man carefully in his own house; and namely, if special regard be had to youth; and that, not so much in teaching them what is good, as in keeping them from that that is ill. *Domestica disciplina.* *Cognitio boni.*

Therefore if wise fathers be not as well aware in weeding from their children ill things and ill company, as they were before in grafting in them learning, and providing for them good schoolmasters, what fruit they shall reap of all their cost and care, common experience doth tell. *Ignoratio mali.*

Here is the place, in youth is the time when some ignorance is as necessary as much knowledge; and not in matters of our duty towards God, as some wilful wits willingly against their own knowledge, perniciously against their own conscience, have of late openly taught. Indeed St. Chrysostom, that noble and eloquent doctor, * in a Some ignorance as good as knowledge.

* The passage here pointed to, is in St. Chrysostom's fifth Discourse, περὶ Εἱμαρμένης καὶ Προνοίας. A captious question being put, "How comes one man to be rich, and another poor?" he answers, "Though we were never so ignorant of the reasons of these things, yet it is far better to continue in

sermon *contra Fatum*, and the curious Searching of Nativities, doth wisely say, that "Ignorance therein is better than knowledge." But to wring this sentence, to wrest thereby out of men's hands the knowledge of God's doctrine, is without all reason, against common sense, contrary to the judgment also of them which be the discreetest men and best learned on their own side. I know Julianus Apostata * did so; but I never heard or read that any ancient Father of the primitive church either thought or wrote so.

Innocency in youth.

But this ignorance in youth which I speak on, or rather this simplicity, or most truly this innocency, is that which the noble Persians, as wise Xenophon doth testify, were so careful to breed up their youth in. But Christian fathers commonly do not so. And I will tell you a tale, as much to be misliked, as the Persians' example is to be followed.

our ignorance, than to admit of any impious tenet or opinion:" Βέλτιον γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν καλῶς, ἢ εἰδέναι κακῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει κατηγορίαν, τὸ δὲ ἀπεστέρηται συγγνώμης. Tom. 6, pag. 878. Edit. Savil.

* Julian put forth a severe edict, whereby he forbade the Christians publicly in the schools either to teach or study humane literature. For which Gregory Nazianzen thus warmly inveighs against him, though playing too much with the word λόγος:—Κἀκείνῳ πρέπουσα δίκη, λόγῳ κολάζεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς λόγους παρανομίας. ὢν κοινῶν ὄντων λογικοῖς ἅπασι, ὡς ἰδίων αὐτοῦ, Χριστιάνοις ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλογώτατα περὶ λόγων διανοηθεὶς ὁ πάντων, ὡς ᾤετο, λογιώτατος. Στηλ. ά. pag. 4. Edit. Eton. "Illud autem inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos ritus Christiani cultores." Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 21.

This last summer I was in a gentleman's house, where a young child, somewhat past four year old, could in no wise frame his tongue to say a little short grace; and yet he could roundly rap out so many ugly oaths, and those of the newest fashion, as some good man of fourscore year old hath never heard named before. And that which was most detestable of all, his father and mother would laugh at it. I much doubt what comfort another day this child shall bring unto them. This child using much the company of serving-men, and giving good ear to their talk, did easily learn, which he shall hardly forget all the days of his life hereafter. So likewise in the court, if a young gentleman will venture himself into the company of ruffians, it is over-great a jeopardy, lest their fashions, manners, thoughts, talk, and deeds, will very soon be over-like.* "The confounding of companies breedeth confusion of good manners, both in the court and every where else." A child ill brought up. Ill parents. Ill company.

And it may be a great wonder, but a greater shame to us Christian men, to understand what a heathen writer, Isocrates, doth leave in memory of writing, concerning the care that the noble city of Athens had to bring up their youth in honest company and virtuous discipline; whose talk in Greek is to this effect in English:—

"The city was not more careful to see their children well taught, than to see their young men well governed: which they brought to pass, not so much by common law, as by private discipline. For they had more regard that their youth by good order should not

* The edd. 1570—71 have ever-like.

offend, than how by law they might be punished; and if offence were committed, there was neither way to hide it, nor hope of pardon for it. Good natures were not so much openly praised, as they were secretly marked and watchfully regarded, lest they should leese the goodness they had. Therefore in schools of singing and dancing, and other honest exercises, governors were appointed more diligent to oversee their good manners, than their masters were to teach them any learning. It was some shame to a young man to be seen in the open market; and if for business he passed through it, he did it with a marvellous modesty and bashful fashion. To eat or drink in a tavern was not only a shame, but also punishable in a young man. To contrary, or to stand in terms with an old man, was more heinous * than in some place to rebuke and scold with his own father." With many other mo[re] good orders and fair disciplines, which I refer to their

* In this citation out of Isocrates, Mr. Ascham has rather given the sense of several passages, than a strict translation of his author; and perhaps he might trust to his memory, without consulting the original; which is no uncommon thing with learned men. What is here expressed, "than in some place," is in the Greek, *ἢ νῦν*: which is not a comparison between Athens and some other state in point of strict discipline and regularity of manners, but a complaint of a decay herein, and of a degeneracy in the present age from the good conduct of former times.

The latter part, where he keeps somewhat closer to the original, I shall transcribe: *Οὕτω δ' ἔφευγον τὴν ἀγορὰν, ὥστε εἰ καὶ ποτὲ διελθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖεν, μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐφαίνοντο τοῦτο ποιοῦντες· ἀντειπεῖν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἢ λοιδορήσασθαι, δεινότερον ἐνόμιζον, ἢ νῦν περὶ τοὺς γονέας ἐξαμαρτάνειν· ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν, οὐθεὶς οὐδ' ἂν οἰκέτης ἐπιεικὴς ἐτόλμησε.*

reading, that have lust to look upon the description of such a worthy commonwealth.

And to know what worthy fruit did spring of such worthy seed, I will tell you the most marvel of all, and yet such a truth as no man shall deny it, except such as be ignorant in knowledge of the best stories. Good seed worthy fruit.

Athens, by this discipline and good ordering of youth, did breed up, within the circuit of that one city, within the compass of one hundred year, within the memory of one man's life, so many notable captains in war, for worthiness, wisdom, and learning, as be scarce matchable, no, not in the state of Rome, in the compass of those seven hundred years, when it flourished most.

And because I will not only say it, but also prove it, the names of them be these: Miltiades, Themistocles, Xanthippus, Pericles, Cimon, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Conon, Iphicrates, Xenophon, Timotheus, Theopompus, Demetrius, and divers other mo[re]; of which every one may justly be spoken that worthy praise which was given to Scipio Africanus, who Cicero doubteth, "whether he were more noble captain in war, or more eloquent and wise counsellor in peace." And if ye believe not me, read diligently *Æmilius Probus in Latin, and Plutarch in Greek; which two had no cause either to flatter or lie upon any of those which I have recited. The noble captains of Athens.

And beside nobility in war, for excellent and match-

* Cornelius Nepos, whose works by mistake have gone under the name of Æmilius Probus; who seems to have no other title to them, than as he took care to have them copied out for the use of the Emperor Theodosius.

The learned men of Athens.

less masters in all manner of learning, in that one city, in memory of one age, were more learned men, and that in a manner altogether, than all time doth remember, than all place doth afford, than all other tongues do contain. And I do not mean of those authors, which by injury of time, by negligence of men, by cruelty of fire and sword, be lost; but even of those, which by God's grace are left yet unto us; of which, I thank God, even my poor study lacketh not one. As, in philosophy, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Euclid, and Theophrast; in eloquence and civil law, Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades, Isocrates, Isæus, Lysias, Antisthenes, Andocides; in histories, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and, which we lack to our great loss, Theopompus and Ephorus; in poetry, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and somewhat of Menander, Demosthenes sister son.

Now let Italian, and Latin itself, Spanish, French, Dutch, and English, bring forth their learning, and recite their authorities; Cicero only excepted, and one or two mo[re] in Latin, they be all patched clouts and rags, in comparison of fair woven broad-cloths; and truly, if there be any good in them, it is either learned, borrowed, or stolen from some of those worthy wits of Athens.

Learning chiefly contained in the Greek and in no other tongue.

The remembrance of such a commonwealth, using such discipline and order for youth, and thereby bringing forth to their praise, and leaving to us for our example, such captains for war, such counsellors for peace, and matchless masters for all kind of learning, is pleasant for me to recite, and not irksome, I trust,

for other to hear, except it be such as make neither account of virtue nor learning.

And whether there be any such or no, I cannot well tell: yet I hear say, some young gentlemen of ours count it their shame to be counted learned; and perchance they count it their shame to be counted honest also; for I hear say, they meddle as little with the one as with the other. A marvellous case, that gentlemen should so be ashamed of good learning, and never a whit ashamed of ill manners! Such do say for them, that the gentlemen of France do so; which is a lie, as God will have it: Langæus and Bellæus, that be dead, and the noble Vidam of Chartres, that is alive, and infinite mo[re] in France, which I hear tell of, prove this to be most false. And though some in France, which will needs be gentlemen, whether men will or no, and have more gentleness in their hat than in their head, be at deadly feud with both learning and honesty; yet I believe, if that noble prince, King Francis the First, were alive, they should have neither place in his court, nor pension in his wars, if he had knowledge of them. This opinion is not French, but plain Turkish, from whence some French fetch more faults than this; which I pray God keep out of England, and send also those of ours better minds, which bend themselves against virtue and learning, to the contempt of God, dishonour of their country, to the hurt of many others, and at length to the greatest harm and utter destruction of themselves.

Contemners of learning.

Gentlemen of France.

Franciscus I., nobilis. Francorum rex.

Some other, having better nature but less wit (for ill commonly have over much wit), do not utterly dispraise learning, but they say,

Experience without learning.

that without learning, common experience, knowledge of all fashions, and haunting all companies, shall work in youth both wisdom and ability to execute any weighty affair. Surely long experience doth profit much, but most, and almost only to him (if we mean honest affairs) that is diligently before instructed with precepts of well doing. For good precepts of learning be the eyes of the mind, to look wisely before a man, which way to go right, and which not.

Learning—experience.

Learning teacheth more in one year than experience in twenty; and learning teacheth safely, when experience maketh mo[re] miserable, than wise. He hazardeth sore that waxeth wise by experience. An unhappy master he is that is made cunning by many shipwrecks; a miserable merchant, that is neither rich nor wise but after some bankrouts. It is costly wisdom that is bought by experience. We know by experience itself, that it is a marvellous pain to find out but a short way by long wandering. And surely, he that would prove wise by experience, he may be witty indeed, but even like a swift runner, that runneth fast out of his way, and upon the night, he knoweth not whither. And verily they be fewest in number that be happy or wise by unlearned experience. And look well upon the former life of those few, whether your example be old or young, who without learning have gathered by long experience a little wisdom and some happiness; and when you do consider what mischief they have committed, what dangers they have escaped, (and yet twenty for one do perish in the adventure,) then think well with yourself, whether you would that your own son should come to wisdom and happiness by the way of such experience or no.

It is a notable tale, that old Sir Roger Chamloe, sometime chief justice, would tell of himself. When he was ancient in inn of court, certain young gentlemen were brought before him to be corrected for certain misorders: and one of the lustiest said, "Sir, we be young gentlemen; and wise men before us have proved all fashions, and yet those have done full well." This they said, because it was well known that Sir Roger had been a good-fellow in his youth. But he answered them very wisely: "Indeed," saith he, "in youth I was, as you are now; and I had twelve fellows like unto myself, but not one of them came to a good end. And therefore follow not my example in youth, but follow my counsel in age, if ever ye think to come to this place, or to these years that I am come unto; lest you meet either with poverty or Tyburn in the way." Sir Roger Chamloe.

This experience of all fashions in youth, being in proof always dangerous, in issue seldom lucky, is a way indeed to over-much knowledge, yet used commonly of such men, which be either carried by some curious affection of mind, or driven by some hard necessity of life, to hazard the trial of over-many perilous adventures.

Erasmus, the honour of learning of all our time, said wisely, "That experience is the common schoolhouse of fools and ill men. Men of wit and honesty be otherwise instructed. For there be, that keep them out of fire, and yet was never burned; that be ware of water, and yet was never nigh drowning; that hate harlots, and was never at the stews; that abhor falsehood, and never brake promise themselves." Experience the schoolhouse of fools and ill men.

But will ye see a fit similitude of this adventured

experience. A father that doth let loose his son to all experiences, is most like a fond hunter that letteth slip a whelp to the whole herd; twenty to one he shall fall upon a rascal, and let go the fair game. Men that hunt so, be either ignorant persons, privy stealers, or night-walkers.

Learning therefore, ye wise fathers, and good bringing up, and not blind and dangerous experience, is the next and readiest way that must lead your children, first to wisdom, and then to worthiness, if ever ye purpose they shall come there.

How experience may profit.

And to say all in short, though I lack authority to give counsel, yet I lack not good will to wish, that the youth in England, especially gentlemen, and namely nobility, should be by good bringing up so grounded in judgment of learning, so founded in love of honesty, as, when they should be called forth to the execution of great affairs, in service of their prince and country, they might be able to use, and to order all experiences, were they good, were they bad, and that according to the square, rule, and line of wisdom, learning, aud virtue.

Diligent learning ought to be joined with pleasant pastimes, namely, in a gentleman.

And I do not mean by all this my talk, that young gentlemen should always be poring on a book, and by using good studies should leese honest pleasure, and haunt no good pastime: I mean nothing less. For it is well known that I both like and love, and have always, and do yet still use all exercises and pastimes that be fit for my nature and ability: and beside natural disposition, in judgment also I was never either stoic in doctrine or anabaptist in religion, to mislike a merry, pleasant, and playful nature, if no outrage be committed against law, measure, and good order.

Therefore I would wish, that beside some good time fitly appointed, and constantly kept, to increase by reading the knowledge of the tongues and learning; young gentlemen should use, and delight in all courtly exercises, and gentlemanlike pastimes. And good cause why: for the self same noble city of Athens, justly commended of me before, did wisely, and upon great consideration, appoint the Muses, Apollo and Pallas, to be patrons of learning to their youth. For the Muses, besides learning, were also ladies of dancing, mirth, and minstrelsy: Apollo was god of shooting, and author of cunning playing upon instruments; Pallas also was lady mistress in wars. Whereby was nothing else meant, but that learning should be always mingled with honest mirth and comely exercises; and that war also should be governed by learning and moderated by wisdom; as did well appear in those captains of Athens named by me before, and also in Scipio and Cæsar, the two diamonds of Rome. And Pallas was no more feared in wearing *ægida*, than she was praised for choosing *oliva*; whereby shineth the glory of learning, which thus was governor and mistress in the noble city of Athens, both of war and peace.

Learning joined with pastimes.

Learning ruleth both war and peace.

Therefore to ride comely, to run fair at the tilt or ring; to play at all weapons, to shoot fair in bow, or surely in gun; to vault lustily, to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim; to dance comely, to sing, and play on instruments cunningly; to hawk, to hunt; to play at tennis, and all pastimes generally, which be joined with labour, used in open place, and on the day-light, containing either some fit exercise for war, or some plea-

The pastimes that be fit for comely gentlemen.

sant pastime for peace, be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use.

But of all kind of pastimes fit for a gentleman, I will, God willing, in fitter place more at large declare fully, in my book of the Cockpit; which I do write to satisfy some, I trust with some reason, that be more curious in marking other men's doings, than careful in mending their own faults. And some also will needs busy themselves in marvelling, and adding thereunto unfriendly talk, why I, a man of good years, and of no ill place, I thank God and my prince, do make choice to spend such time in writing of trifles, as the School of Shooting, the Cockpit, and this book of the First Principles of Grammar, rather than to take some weighty matter in hand, either of religion or civil discipline.

Wise men, I know, will well allow of my choice herein; and as for such who have not wit of themselves, but must learn of others to judge right of men's doings, let them read that wise poet Horace in his *Arte Poetica*, who willeth wise men to beware of high and lofty titles. For great ships require costly tackling, and also afterward dangerous government: small boats be neither very chargeable in making, nor very oft in great jeopardy; and yet they carry many times as good and costly ware as greater vessels do. A mean argument may easily bear the light burden of a small fault, and have always at hand a ready excuse for ill handling; and some praise it is, if it so chance, to be better indeed than a man dare venture to seem. A high title doth charge a man with the heavy burthen of too great a promise; and therefore saith Horace, very wittily, that that poet was

A book of a lofty title, bearing the brag of over-great a promise.

The right choice, to choose a fit argument to write upon.

a very fool, that began his book with a goodly verse indeed, but over proud a promise:

> "Fortunam Priami cantabo, et nobile bellum!"

And after as wisely:

> "Quanto rectius hic, qui nil molitur inepte! &c."

meaning Homer; who, within the compass of a small argument of one harlot and of one good wife, did utter so much learning in all kind of sciences, as, by the judgment of Quintilian "he deserveth so high a praise, that no man yet deserved to sit in the second degree beneath him." And thus much out of my way, concerning my purpose in spending pen and paper and time upon trifles; and namely, to answer some that have neither wit nor learning to do anything themselves, neither will nor honesty to say well of other.

Homer's wisdom in choice of his argument.

To join learning with comely exercises, Conte Baldesar Castiglione, in his book *Cortegiane*, doth trimly teach; which book advisedly read and diligently followed but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wiss, than three years' travel abroad spent in Italy. And I marvel this book is no more read in the court than it is, seeing it is* so well translated into English by a worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Hobby, who was many ways well furnished with learning, and very expert in knowledge of divers tongues.

[illegible]

* This book was soon after (and perhaps the sooner for this great character here given it) translated into excellent Latin by Mr. Clerke, fellow of King's College in Cambridge, with this title, *Balthasaris Castilionis Comitis de Curiali, sive Aulico, Libri quatuor, ex Italico Sermone in Latinum conversa.*

And beside good precepts in books, in all kind of tongues, this court also never lacked many fair examples for young gentlemen to follow: and surely one example is more valuable, both to good and ill, than twenty precepts written in books; and so Plato, not in one or two, but divers places, doth plainly teach.

Examples better than precepts.

If King Edward had lived a little longer, his only example had bred such a race of worthy learned gentlemen, as this realm never yet did afford.

And in the second degree, two noble primroses of nobility, the young Duke of Suffolk, and Lord Henry Matrevers, were two such examples to the court for learning, as our time may rather wish than look for again.

At Cambridge also, in St. John's College, in my time, I do know, that not so much the good statutes, as two gentlemen of worthy memory, Sir John Cheke and Dr. Redman, by their only example of excellency in learning, of godliness in living, of diligence in studying, of counsel in exhorting, of good order in all things, did breed up so many learned men in that one college of St. John's at one time, as I believe the whole university of Louvain in many years was never able to afford.

Present examples of this present time I list not to touch; yet there is one example for all the gentlemen of this court to follow, that may well satisfy them, or nothing will serve them, nor no example move them to goodness and learning.

It is your shame (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England) that one maid should go beyond you all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues. Point forth six of the best given gen-

tlemen of this court, and all they together show not so much good will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the Queen's Majesty herself. Yea, I believe, that beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, * she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day, than some prebendary of this church doth read Latin in a whole week. And that which is most praiseworthy of all, within the walls of her privy chamber, she hath obtained that excellency of learning to understand, speak, and write both wittily with head, and fair with hand, as scarce one or two rare wits in both the universities have in many years reached unto. Amongst all the benefits that God hath blessed me withal, next the knowledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning in this most excellent prince; whose only example if the rest of our nobility would follow, then might England be for learning and

* Mr Ascham, in his Discourse of the Affairs of Germany, speaking of John Frederick Duke of Saxony, Luther's great friend and defender, hath this passage, not unlike what he here relates of his royal mistress:

"It is marvellous that my friend Joannes Sturmius doth report by writing, what he heard Philip Melancthon at a time say of this noble duke, that he thought the duke did privately read and write more every day, than did both he and Dr. Aurifaber; which two were counted in all men's judgments to be the greatest readers and writers in all the University of Wittemberg."

This I the rather add, because I have heard this place censured; as if Mr. Ascham had failed in point of civility and good manners, and intended a reflection by the comparison.

wisdom in nobility, a spectacle to all the world beside.

Ill examples have more force than good examples.

But see the mishap of men; the best examples have never such force to move to any goodness, as the bad, vain, light, and fond have to all illness.

And one example, though out of the compass of learning, yet not out of the order of good manners, was notable in this court not fully twenty-four years ago; when all the acts of parliament, many good proclamations, divers strait commandments, sore punishment openly, special regard privately, could not do so much to take away one misorder, as the example of one big one of this court did, still to keep up the same: the memory whereof doth yet remain in a common proverb of Birching-lane.

Great men in court by their example make or mar all other men's manners.

Take heed, therefore, ye great ones in the court, yea though ye be the greatest of all, take heed what ye do; take heed how ye live; for as you great ones use to do, so all mean men love to do. You be indeed makers or marrers of all men's manners within the realm. For though God hath placed you to be chief in making of laws, to bear greatest authority, to command all others; yet God doth order, that all your laws, all your authority, all your commandments, do not half so much with mean men, as doth your example and manner of living. And for example, even in the greatest matter, if you yourselves do serve God gladly and orderly for conscience sake, not coldly, and sometime for manner sake, you carry all the court with you, and the whole realm beside, earnestly and orderly to do the same. If you do otherwise, you be the only authors of all misorders in religion, not only to the court, but to all England

Example in religion.

beside. Infinite shall be made cold in religion by your example, that never were hurt by reading of books.

And in meaner matters, if three or four great ones in court will needs outrage in apparel, in huge hose, in monstrous hats, in garish colours; let the prince proclaim, make laws, order, punish, command every gate in London daily to be watched; let all good men beside do every where what they can; surely the misorder of apparel in mean men abroad shall never be amended, except the greatest in court will order and mend themselves first. I know some great and good ones in court were authors, that honest citizens of London should watch at every gate to take misordered persons in apparel: I know that honest Londoners did so; and I saw (which I saw then, and report now with some grief) that some courtly men were offended with these good men of London: and (that which grieved me most of all) I saw the very same time, for all these good orders commanded from the court and executed in London; I saw, I say, come out of London even unto the presence of the prince, a great rabble of mean and light persons in apparel, for matter against law, for making against order, for fashion, namely hose, so without all order, as he thought himself most brave, that durst do most in breaking order, and was most monstrous in misorder. And for all the great commandments that came out of the court, yet this bold misorder was winked at, and borne withal in the court. I thought it was not well, that some great ones of the court durst declare themselves offended with good men of London for doing their duty, and the good ones of the court would not show themselves offended with ill men of London for breaking good

Example in apparel.

Masters, ushers and scholars' offence.

order. I found thereby a saying of Socrates to be most true, "That ill men be more hasty, than good men be forward, to prosecute their purposes;" even as Christ himself saith of the children of light and darkness.

Beside apparel, in all other things too, not so much good laws and strait commandments, as the example and manner of living of great men, doth carry all mean men every where to like, and love, and do, as they do.

Example in shooting.

For if but two or three noblemen in the court would but begin to shoot, all young gentlemen, the whole court, all London, the whole realm, would straightway exercise shooting.

What praise should they win to themselves? what commodity should they bring to their country, that would thus deserve* to be pointed at, "Behold, there goeth the author of good order, the guide of good men?" I could say more, and yet not over-much. But perchance some will say I have stept too far out of my school into the commonwealth, from teaching a young scholar, to monish great and noble men: yet I trust good and wise men will think and judge of me,

* Men of true worth and excellency, as they justly challenge all due respect, so they draw the eyes of the world after them wherever they go. Demosthenes never appeared in public, but he was marked out by the admiring multitude as he passed along, one crying to another, Οὗτος ἐκεῖνος. To this Lucian alludes in his Dream: Τοιαῦτά σοι περιθήσω τὰ γνωρίσματα, ὥστε τῶν ὁρώντων ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον κινήσας, δείξει σε τῷ δακτύλῳ, Οὗτος ἐκεῖνος, λέγων. This Horace expresses with some satisfaction, as being his own case:

"Totum muneris hoc tui est,
Quòd monstror digito prætereuntium
Romanæ fidicen lyræ."

that my mind was not so much to be busy and bold with them that be great now, as to give true advice to them that may be great hereafter; who, if they do as I wish them to do, how great soever they be now by blood and other men's means, they shall become a great deal greater hereafter by learning, virtue, and their own deserts; "which is true praise, right worthiness, and very nobility indeed." Yet, if some will needs press me that I am too bold with great men, and stray too far from my matter, I will answer them with St. Paul, *Sive per contentionem, sive quocunque modo, modo Christus prædicetur*, &c. Even so, whether in place or out of place, with my matter or beside my matter, if I can hereby either provoke the good or stay the ill, I shall think my writing herein well employed.

Written not for great men, but for great men's children.

But to come down from great men and higher matters, to my little children and poor schoolhouse again; I will, God willing, go forward orderly, as I purposed, to instruct children and young men both for learning and manners.

Hitherto I have showed what harm over-much fear bringeth to children; and what hurt ill company and over-much liberty breedeth in youth; meaning thereby, that from seven year old to seventeen, love is the best allurement to learning; from seventeen to seven-and-twenty, that wise men should carefully see the steps of youth surely stayed by good order, in that most slippery time, and especially in the court, a place most dangerous for youth to live in, without great grace, good regard, and diligent looking to.

Sir Richard Sackville, that worthy gentleman of worthy memory, as I said in the beginning, in the queen's privy chamber at

Travelling into Italy.

Windsor, after he had talked with me for the right choice of a good wit in a child for learning, and of the true difference betwixt quick and hard wits, of alluring young children by gentleness to love learning, and of the special care that was to be had to keep young men from licentious living; he was most earnest with me, to have me say my mind also, what I thought concerning the fancy that many young gentlemen of England have to travel abroad, and namely to lead a long life in Italy. His request, both for his authority and good will toward me, was a sufficient commandment unto me, to satisfy his pleasure with uttering plainly my opinion in that matter. "Sir," quoth I, "I take going thither, and living there, for a young gentleman that doth not go under the keep and guard of such a man, as both by wisdom can, and authority dare rule him, to be marvellous dangerous."

And why I said so then, I will declare at large now, which I said then privately, and write now openly; not because I do contemn either the knowledge of strange and divers tongues, and namely the Italian tongue (which, next the Greek and Latin tongue, I like and love above all other), or else because I do despise the learning that is gotten, or the experience that is gathered in strange countries; or for any private malice that I bear to Italy; which country, and in it namely Rome, I have always specially honoured; because time was, when Italy and Rome have been to the great good of us that now live, the best breeders and bringers up of the worthiest men, not only for wise speaking, but also for well doing, in all civil affairs, that ever was in the world. But now that time is gone; and though the place remain, yet the old and present manners do

The Italian tongue.

differ as far as black and white, as virtue and vice. Virtue once made that country mistress over all the world; vice now maketh that country slave to them that before were glad to serve it. All men seeth it; they themselves confess it, namely such as be best and wisest amongst them. For sin, by lust and vanity, hath and doth breed up every where, common contempt of God's word, private contention in many families, open factions in every city: and so making themselves bond to vanity and vice at home, they are content to bear the yoke of serving strangers abroad. Italy now, is not that Italy that it was wont to be; and therefore now not so fit a place as some do count it, for young men to fetch either wisdom or honesty from thence. For surely they will make others but bad scholars, that be so ill masters to themselves. Yet, if a gentleman will needs travel into Italy, he shall do well to look on the life of the wisest traveller that ever travelled thither, set out by the wisest writer that ever spake with tongue, God's doctrine only excepted; and that is Ulysses in Homer.

Ulysses and his travel I wish our travellers to look upon, not so much to fear them with the great dangers that he many times suffered, as to instruct them with his excellent wisdom, which he always and every where used. Yea, even those that be learned and witty travellers, when they be disposed to praise travelling, as a great commendation, and the best scripture they have for it, they gladly recite * the third

* The first three verses of Homer's Odyssey:

Ἄνδρά μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
Πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε.
Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

verse of Homer, in his first book of the Odyssey, containing a great praise of Ulysses, for the wit he gathered and wisdom he used in his travelling.

Which verse, because in mine opinion it was not made at the first more naturally in Greek by Homer, nor after turned more aptly into Latin by Horace, than it was a good while ago in Cambridge translated into English, both plainly for the sense and roundly for the verse, by one of the best scholars that ever St. John's college bred, Mr. Watson, mine old friend, sometime Bishop of Lincoln: therefore for their sake, that have lust to see how our English tongue in avoiding barbarous rhyming may as well receive right quantity of syllables and true order of versifying, (of which matter more at large hereafter,) as either Greek or Latin, if a cunning man have it in handling; I will set forth that one verse in all three tongues, for an example to good wits, that shall delight in like learned exercise.

Homerus.—Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

Horatius.—*Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, et urbes.**

Mr. Watson.

All travellers do gladly report great praise of Ulysses,
For that he knew many men's manners, and saw many cities.

Polytropos. } Ulysses. *Polymetis.* } And yet is not Ulysses commended so much, nor so oft in Homer, because he was πολύτροπος, this is, "skilful in many men's manners and fashions;" as because he was πολύμητις, that is, "wise in all purposes, and wary in all places." Which wisdom and wariness will not

* Horat. Ars. Poet. 142.

serve neither a traveller, except Pallas be always at his elbow, that is God's special grace from heaven, to keep him in God's fear in all his doings, in all his journey. For he shall not always, in his absence out of England, light upon a gentle Alcinous,* and walk in his fair gardens full of all harmless pleasures; but he shall sometimes fall either into the hands of some cruel Cyclops, or into the lap of some wanton and dallying dame, Calypso; and so suffer the danger of many a deadly den, not so full of perils to destroy the body, as full of vain pleasures to poison the mind. Some Siren shall sing him a song, sweet in tone, but sounding in the end to his utter destruction. If Scylla drown him not, Charybdis may fortune [to] swallow him. Some Circes shall make him, of a plain Englishman, a right Italian: and at length to hell,† or to some hellish place, is he likely to go; from whence is hard returning, although one Ulysses, and that by Pallas's aid, and good counsel of Tiresias, once escaped that horrible den of deadly darkness. Pallas from heaven.

Therefore, if wise men will needs send their sons into Italy, let them do it wisely, under the keep and guard of him who, by his wisdom and honesty, by his example and authority, may be able to keep them safe and sound in the fear of God, in Christ's true religion, in good order, and honesty of living; except they will have them run headlong into over-many jeopardies, as Ulysses had done many times, if Pallas had not always governed him; if he had not used to stop his ears with wax, to bind himself to the mast of his ship, to

* Alcinous, *Hom. Od.* η: Cyclops, ι: Calypso, ϵ: Sirenes, Scylla, Charybdis, μ: Circe, ϵ.

† See Hom. Od., λ.

Moly herba. feed daily upon that sweet herb Moly,* with the black root and white flower, given unto him by Mercury to avoid all the enchantments of Circes. Whereby the divine poet Homer meant covertly (as wise and godly men do judge) that love of honesty and hatred of ill, which David more plainly doth call the fear of God, the only remedy against all enchantments of sin.†

I know divers noble personages, and many worthy gentlemen of England, whom all the Siren songs of Italy could never untwine from the mast of God's Word, nor no enchantment of vanity overturn them from the fear of God and love of honesty.

But I know as many, or mo[re], and some sometime my dear friends (for whose sake I hate going into that country the more), who parting out of England fervent in the love of Christ's doctrine, and well furnished with the fear of God, returned out of Italy worse transformed than ever was any in Circes' court. I know divers, that went out of England, men of innocent life, men of excellent learning, who returned out of Italy, not only with worse manners, but also with less learning; neither so willing to live orderly, nor yet so able to speak learnedly, as they were at home, before they went abroad. And why? Plato, that wise writer, and worthy traveller himself, telleth the cause why. He went into Sicilia, a country no nigher Italy by site of place, than Italy, that is now, is like Sicilia thatwas then, in all corrupt manners and licentiousness

* Odyss. κ, ver. 304.

Ῥίζῃ μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δὲ εἴκελον ἄνθος.
Μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί· χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν
Ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι, θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύνανται.

† Psalm xxxiii.

of life. Plato found in Sicilia every city full of vanity, full of factions, even as Italy is now. And as Homer, like a learned poet, doth feign that Circes by pleasant enchantments did turn men into beasts, some into swine, some into asses, some into foxes, some into wolves, &c., even so Plato,* like a wise philosopher, doth plainly declare, that pleasure by licentious vanity, that sweet and perilous poison of all youth, doth engender, in all those that yield up themselves to her, four notorious properties,

1. Λήθην.
2. Δυσμαθίαν.
3. Ἀφροσύνην.
4. Ὕβριν.

The fruits of vain pleasure.

The first, Forgetfulness of all good things learned before; the second, Dulness to receive either learning or honesty ever after; the third, A mind embracing lightly the worst opinion, and barren of discretion to

Causes why men return out of Italy less learned and worse mannered.

* Plato seems to insist upon a nicety, in the beginning of this letter to Dionysius [Ep. 3]. It was usual to greet their friends in this form, Χαίρειν καὶ εὖ πράττειν: that is, wish them *joy, and true felicity, founded upon good conduct.* Plato, though he observes that Dionysius had chosen the former, to caress and compliment the Delphian god, bespeaking him in this verse,

Χαῖρε, καὶ ἡδόμενον βιοτον διάσωζε Τυράννυο,

yet he himself approves only of the latter; which he constantly used to his friends, and that, for these reasons, whereunto our author alludes:

Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπῳ κλήσει, μὴ ὅτι δὴ θεῷ, παρακελευσαίμην ἂν δρᾶν τοῦτο. Θεῷ μὲν, ὅτι παρὰ φύσιν προστάττοιμ' ἄν. (πόῤῥω γὰρ ἡδονῆς ἵδρυται καὶ λύπης τὸ θεῖον) ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ, ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ βλάβην ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπην γεννᾷ, δυσμαθίαν, καὶ λήθην, καὶ ἀφροσύνην, καὶ ὕβριν τίκτουσα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ.

make true difference betwixt good and ill, betwixt truth and vanity; the fourth, A proud disdainfulness of other good men in all honest matters.

Homer and Plato have both one meaning, look both to one end. For if a man inglut himself with vanity, or welter in filthiness like a swine, all learning, all goodness, is soon forgotten, Then quickly shall he become a dull ass, to understand either learning or honesty; and yet shall he be as subtle as a fox in breeding of mischief, in bringing in misorder, with a busy head, a discoursing tongue, and a factious heart, in every private affair, in all matters of state; with this pretty property, always glad to commend the worse party, and ever ready to defend the falser opinion. And why? For where will is given from goodness to vanity, the mind is soon carried from right judgment to any fond opinion in religion, in philosophy or any other kind of learning. The fourth fruit of vain pleasure, by Homer and Plato's judgment, is pride in themselves, contempt of others, the very badge of all those that serve in Circes' court. The true meaning of both Homer and Plato is plainly declared in one short sentence of the holy prophet of God, Hieremy, crying out of the vain and vicious life of the Israelites: "This people (saith he) * be fools and dulheads to all goodness, but subtle, cunning, and bold in any mischief," &c.

Homer and Plato joined and expounded.

Aphrosune quid et unde.

The true medicine against the enchantments of Circes, the vanity of licentious pleasure, the enticements of all sin, is in Homer the herb Moly, with the black root and white flower, sour at the first, but sweet in the

* Jerem. iv. 22.

end; which Hesiodus [illegible] * the study of virtue, hard and irksome in the beginning, but in the end easy and pleasant. And that which is most to be marvelled at, the divine poet Homer saith plainly, that this medicine against sin and vanity is not found out by man, but given and taught by God. And for some one's sake, that will have delight to read that sweet and godly verse. I will recite the very words of Homer, and also turn them into rude English metre: †

Homerus divinus poeta.

———Χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ἀρύσσειν
Ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι· θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύναντα.

In English thus:

No mortal man, with sweat of brow or toil of mind,
But only God, who can do all, that herb doth find.

Plato also, that divine philosopher, hath many godly medicines against the poison of vain pleasure in many places, but specially in his epistles to Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily. Yet against those that will needs become beasts with serving of Circes, the prophet David crieth most loud; *Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus;* and by and by giveth the right medicine, the true herb Moly, *In camo et freno maxillas eorum constringe:* that is to say, "Let God's grace be the bit,

* The place in Hesiod which he points to, is this, Ἔργων καὶ Ἡμερ. ver. 289.

Τῆς δ' Ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
Ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν,
Καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι,
Ῥηϊδίη δ' ἤπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

These verses Lucian, in his Νεκυομαντεία, calls πάνδημα ἔπη, *famous and celebrated verses.*

† Hom. Od. κ, 305, 306.

let God's fear be the bridle, to stay them from running headlong into vice, and to turn them into the right way again." David, in the second psalm after, giveth the same medicine, but in these plainer words, *Diverte a malo, et fac bonum.*

But I am afraid, that over-many of our travellers into Italy do not eschew the way to Circes' court, but go, and ride, and run, and fly thither: they make great haste to come to her; they make great suit to serve her; yea, I could point out some with my finger, that never had gone out of England, but only to serve Circes in Italy. Vanity and vice, and any license to ill living in England, was counted stale and rude unto them. And so, being mules and horses before they went, returned very swine and asses home again: yet every where very foxes with subtle and busy heads; and where they may, very wolves, with cruel malicious hearts. A marvellous monster, which for filthiness of living, for dulness to learning himself, for wiliness in dealing with others, for malice in hurting without cause, should carry at once in one body, the belly of a swine, the head of an ass, the brain of a fox, the womb of a wolf.

A true picture of a knight of Circes' court.

If you think we judge amiss, and write too sore against you, hear what the Italian saith of the Englishmen; what the master reporteth of the scholar, who uttereth plainly what is taught by him, and what is learned by you, saying, *Inglese Italianato è un diabolo incarnato;* that is to say, "You remain men in shape and fashion, but become devils in life and condition."

The Italian judgment of Englishmen brought up in Italy.

This is not the opinion of one for some private spite, but the judgment of all in a common proverb, which riseth of that learning, and those manners, which you

gather in Italy: a good school-house of wholesome doctrine, and worthy masters of commendable scholars; where the master had rather diffame himself for his teaching, than not shame his scholar for his learning. A good nature of the master, and fair conditions of the scholars. And now choose you, you Italian Englishmen, whether you will be angry with us for calling you monsters, or with the Italians for calling you devils, or else with your own selves, that take so much pains, and go so far, to make yourselves both. If some yet do not well understand what is an Englishman Italianated, I will plainly tell him: "He that by living and travelling in Italy, bringeth home into England out of Italy, the religion, the learning, the policy, the experience, the manners of Italy." That is to say, for religion, papistry, or worse; for learning, less commonly than they carried out with them; for policy, a factious heart, a discoursing head, a mind to meddle in all men's matters; for experience, plenty of new mischiefs never known in England before; for manners, variety of vanities, and change of filthy living.

The Italian diffameth himself to shame the Englishman.

An Englishman Italianated.

The { 1. Religion, 2. Learning, 3. Policy, 4. Experience, 5. Manners. } gotten in Italy.

These be the enchantments of Circes, brought out of Italy, to mar men's manners in England; much by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fond books, of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London; commended by honest titles, the sooner to corrupt honest manners; dedicated over-boldly to virtuous and honourable personages, the easilier to beguile simple and innocent wits. "It is pity, that those which have authority and charge to allow and disallow books to

Italian books translated into English.

be printed, be no more circumspect herein than they are." Ten sermons at Paul's Cross do not so much good for moving men to true doctrine, as one of those books do harm with enticing men to ill living. Yea, I say farther, those books tend not so much to corrupt honest living, as they do to subvert true religion. Mo[re] papists be made by your merry books of Italy, than by your earnest books of Louvain. And because our great physicians do wink at the matter, and make no count of this sore, I, though not admitted one of their fellowship, yet having been many years a prentice to God's true religion, and trust to continue a poor journeyman therein all days of my life, for the duty I owe, and love I bear both to true doctrine and honest living, though I have no authority to amend the sore myself, yet I will declare my good will to discover the sore to others.

St. Paul * saith, "that sects and ill opinions be the works of the flesh and fruits of sin." This is spoken no more truly for the doctrine than sensible for the reason. And why? "For ill doings breed ill thinkings; and of corrupted manners spring perverted judgments. And how? There be in man two special things; man's will, man's mind. Where will inclineth to goodness, the mind is bent to truth. Where will is carried from goodness to vanity, the mind is soon drawn from troth to false opinion. And so, the readiest way to entangle the mind with false doctrine, is first to entice the will to wanton living. Therefore, when the busy and open papists abroad, could not by their contentious books turn men in England fast enough from troth and right

Voluntas / Mens } *respicit* { *bonum / verum.*

* Paul, Ep. to Galat. v, 19.

judgment in doctrine, then the subtile and secret papists at home, procured bawdy books to be translated out of the Italian tongue, whereby over-many young wills and wits allured to wantonness, do now boldly contemn all severe books that sound to honesty and godliness.

In our forefathers' time, when papistry, as a standing pool, covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, saving certain books of chivalry, as they said for pastime and pleasure; which, as some say, were made in monasteries by idle monks or wanton canons. As one for example, *Morte Arthur;* the whole pleasure of which book standeth in two special points, in open man- *Morte Arthur.* slaughter and bold bawdry. In which book those he counted the noblest knights, that do kill most men without any quarrel, and commit foulest adulteries by subtlest shifts: as Sir Launcelot, with the wife of King Arthur his master; Sir Tristram, with the wife of King Mark his uncle; Sir Lamerock, with the wife of King Lote, that was his own aunt. This is good stuff for wise men to laugh at, or honest men to take pleasure at: yet I know, when God's Bible was banished the court, and *Morte Arthur* received into the prince's chamber.

What toys the daily reading of such a book may work in the will of a young gentleman, or a young maid, that liveth wealthily and idly, wise men can judge, and honest men do pity. And yet ten *Morte Arthurs* do not the tenth part so much harm, as one of these books made in Italy and translated in England. They open, not fond and common ways to vice, but such subtle, cunning, new, and divers shifts, to carry young wills to vanity, and young wits to mis-

chief, to teach old bawds new school points, as the simple head of an Englishman is not able to invent, nor never was heard of in England before, yea, when papistry overflowed all. Suffer these books to be read, and they shall soon displace all books of godly learning. "For they, carrying the will to vanity, and marring good manners, shall easily corrupt the mind with ill opinions, and false judgment in doctrine; first to think ill of all true religion, and at last to think nothing of God himself; one special point that is to be learned in Italy and Italian books." And that which is most to be lamented, and therefore more needful to be looked to, there be more of these ungracious books set out in print within these few months, than have been seen in England many score years before. And because our Englishmen made Italians can not hurt but certain persons, and in certain places, therefore these Italian books are made English, to bring mischief enough openly and boldly to all states, great and mean, young and old, every where.

And thus you see, how will enticed to wantonness, doth easily allure the mind to false opinions; and how corrupt manners in living, breed false judgment in doctrine; how sin and fleshliness, bring forth sects and heresies; and therefore suffer not vain books to breed vanity in men's wills, if you would have God's troth take root in men's minds.

The Italian proverb expounded.

That Italian, that first invented the Italian proverb against our Englishmen Italianated, meant no more their vanity in living, than their lewd opinion in religion: for in calling them devils, he carrieth them clean from God; and yet he carrieth them no farther than they willingly go them-

selves; that is, where they may freely say their minds to the open contempt of God, and all godliness, both in living and doctrine.

And how? I will express how; not by a fable of Homer, nor by the philosophy of Plato, but by a plain truth of God's word, sensibly uttered by David thus: These men, *abominabiles facti in studiis suis*, think verily and sing gladly the verse before, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus*: that is to say, they giving themselves up to vanity, shaking off the motions of Grace, driving from them the fear of God, and running headlong into all sin, first lustily contemn God, then scornfully mock his word, and also spitefully hate and hurt all well-willers thereof. Then they have in more reverence the triumphs of Petrarch than the Genesis of Moses; they make more account of Tully's Offices than St. Paul's Epistles; of a tale in Boccace, than a story of the Bible. Then they count as fables the holy mysteries of Christian religion. They make Christ and his gospel only serve civil policy. Then neither religion cometh amiss to them: in time they be promoters of both openly; in place again mockers of both privily; as I wrote once in a rude rhyme:

Now new, now old, now both, now neither;
To serve the world's course, they care not with whether.

For where they dare, in company where they like, they boldly laugh to scorn both protestant and papist. They care for no Scripture; they make no count of general councils; they contemn the consent of the church; they pass for no doctors; they mock the pope, they rail on Luther; they allow neither side; they like none, but only themselves. The mark they

shoot at, the end they look for, the heaven they desire, is only their own present pleasure and private profit; whereby they plainly declare of whose school, of what religion they be; that is, Epicures in living, and ἄθεοι in doctrine. This last word is no more unknown now to plain Englishmen, than the person was unknown sometime in England, until some Englishman took pains to fetch that devilish opinion out of Italy. These men thus Italianated abroad, cannot abide our godly Italian church at home; they be not of that parish; they be not of that fellowship; they like not the preacher; they hear not his sermons: except sometimes for company they come thither to hear the Italian tongue naturally spoken, not to hear God's doctrine truly preached.

The Italian Church in London

And yet these men, in matters of divinity, openly pretend a great knowledge, and have privately to themselves a very compendious understanding of all; which nevertheless they will utter, when and where they list. And that is this: All the mysteries of Moses, the whole law and ceremonies, the Psalms and Prophets, Christ and his gospel, God, and the devil, heaven and hell, faith, conscience, sin, death, and all, they shortly wrap up, they quickly expound with this one half verse of Horace, *Credat Judæus Apella.*

Yet though in Italy they may freely be of no religion, as they are in England in very deed too; nevertheless returning home into England, they must countenance the profession of the one or the other, howsoever inwardly they laugh to scorn both. And though for their private matters they can follow, fawn, and flatter noble personages, contrary to them in all respects; yet commonly they ally themselves with the worst papists, to whom they be wedded, and do well

agree together in three proper opinions; in open contempt of God's word, in a secret security of sin, and in a bloody desire to have all taken away by sword or burning, that be not of their faction. They that do read with indifferent judgment Pighius * and Machiavel, two indifferent patriarchs of these two religions, do know full well that I say true.

Papistry and impiety agree in three opinions.

Ye see what manners and doctrine our Englishmen fetch out of Italy: for finding no other there, they can bring no other hither. And therefore many godly and excellent learned Englishmen, not many years ago, did make a better choice; when open cruelty drave them out of this country, to place themselves there, where Christ's doctrine, the fear of God, punishment of sin, and discipline of honesty, were had in special regard.

Wise and honest travellers.

I was once in Italy myself; but I thank God my abode there was but nine days; and yet I saw in that little time, in one city, more liberty to sin, than ever I heard tell of in our noble city of London in nine year. I saw it was there as free to sin, not only without all punishment, but also without any man's marking, as it is free in the city of London, to choose without all blame, whether a man lust to wear shoe or pantocle. And good cause why: for being unlike in truth of religion, they must needs be unlike in honesty of living. For,

Service of God in England.

* Albertus Pighius, a famous champion for the Romish cause, and one of Luther's antagonists. "Meminerit Cardinalem Campegium, Albertum Pighium, aliosque complures suos docuisse, sacerdotem illum multo sanctius et castius vivere, qui alat concubinam, quam qui uxorem habeat in matrimonio." Juelli Apol.

blessed be Christ, in our city of London, commonly the commandments of God be more diligently taught, and the service of God more reverently used, and that daily in many private men's houses, than they be in Italy once a week in their common churches; where masking ceremonies to delight the eye, and vain sounds to please the ear, do quite thrust out of the churches all service of God in spirit and truth. Yea, the lord mayor of London, being but a civil officer, is commonly for his time more diligent in punishing sin, the bent enemy against God and good order, than all the bloody inquisitors in Italy be in seven year. For their care and charge is, not to punish sin, not to amend manners, not to purge doctrine, but only to watch and oversee that Christ's true religion set no sure footing where the pope hath any jurisdiction.

Service of God in Italy.

The lord mayor of London.

The inquisitors in Italy.

I learned, when I was at Venice, that there it is counted good policy, when there be four or five brethren of one family, one only to marry, and all the rest to welter with as little shame in open lechery, as swine do here in the common mire. Yea, there be as fair houses of religion, as great provision, as diligent officers to keep up this misorder as Bridewell is, and all the masters there, to keep down misorder. And therefore, * if the pope himself do not only grant pardons to further these wicked purposes abroad in Italy, but also (although

An ungodly policy.

* "Nondum ille, spero, oblitus est, multa esse Romæ publicarum meretricum millia, et se ex illis in singulos annos, vectigalis nomine, colligere ad triginta millia ducatorum. Oblivisci non potest, se Romæ lenocinium publicè exercere, et de fædissima mercede fæde ac nequiter delitiari." Juelli Apol.

this present pope in the beginning made some show of misliking thereof) assign both meed and merit to the maintenance of stews and brothel-houses at home in Rome; then let wise men think Italy a safe place for wholesome doctrine and godly manners, and a fit school for young gentlemen of England to be brought up in.

Our Italians bring home with them other faults from Italy, though not so great as this of religion, yet a great deal greater than many good men can well bear. For commonly they come home common contemners of marriage, and ready persuaders of all others to the same; not because they love virginity, nor yet because they hate pretty young virgins, but being free in Italy to go whithersoever lust will carry them, they do not like that law and honesty should be such a bar to their liberty at home in England. And yet they be the greatest makers of love, the daily dalliers with such pleasant words, with such smiling and secret countenances, with such signs, tokens, wagers, purposed to be lost before they were purposed to be made, with bargains of wearing colours, flowers, and herbs, to breed occasion of ofter meeting of him and her, and bolder talking of this and that, &c. And although I have seen some innocent of all ill, and staid in all honesty, that have used these things without all harm, without all suspicion of harm; yet these knacks were brought first into England by them that learned them before in Italy in Circes' court; and how courtly courtesies soever they be counted now, yet if the meaning and manners of some that do use them were somewhat amended, it were no great hurt neither to themselves nor to others.

Another property of these our English Italians is,

to be marvellous singular in all their matters; singular in knowledge, ignorant of nothing; so singular in wisdom (in their own opinion) as scarce they count the best counsellor the prince hath comparable with them: common discoursers of all matters, busy searchers of most secret affairs, open flatterers of great men, privy mislikers of good men, fair speakers with smiling countenances, and much courtesy openly to all men; ready backbiters, sore nippers, and spiteful reporters privily of good men. And being brought up in Italy in some free city, as all cities be there; where a man may freely discourse against what he will, against whom he lust, against any prince, against any government, yea, against God himself and his whole religion; where he must be either Guelf or Ghibeline, either French or Spanish; and always compelled to be of some party, of some faction, he shall never be compelled to be of any religion: and if he meddle not overmuch with Christ's true religion, he shall have free liberty to embrace all religions, and become if he lust, at once, without any let or punishment, Jewish, Turkish, papish, and devilish.

A young gentleman, thus bred up in this goodly school, to learn the next and ready way to sin, to have a busy head, a factious heart, a talkative tongue, fed with discoursing of factions, led to contemn God and his religion, shall come home into England but very ill taught, either to be an honest man himself, a quiet subject to his prince, or willing to serve God, under the obedience of true doctrine, or within the order of honest living.

I know none will be offended with this my general writing, but only such as find themselves guilty privately therein; who shall have good leave to be of-

fended with me, until they begin to amend themselves. I touch not them that be good, and I say too little of them that be naught. And so, though not enough for their deserving, yet sufficiently for this time, and more else-when, if occasion require.

And thus far have I wandered from my first purpose of teaching a child, yet not altogether out of the way, because this whole talk hath tended to the only advancement of truth in religion and honesty of living; and hath been wholly within the compass of learning and good manners, the special points belonging to the right bringing up of youth.

But to my matter: As I began plainly and simply with my young scholar, so will I not leave him, God willing, until I have brought him a perfect scholar out of the school, and placed him in the university, to become a fit student for logic and rhetoric; and so after to physic, law, or divinity, as aptness of nature, advice of friends, and God's disposition shall lead him.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE

SECOND BOOK,

TEACHING THE READY

WAY TO THE LATIN TONGUE.

AFTER that your scholar, as I said before, shall come indeed, first to a ready perfectness in translating, then to a ripe and skilful choice in marking out his six points; as,

1. *Proprium.*
2. *Translatum.*
3. *Synonymum.*
4. *Contrarium.*
5. *Diversum.*
6. *Phrases.*

Then take this order with him: Read daily unto him some book of Tully; as the third book of Epistles, chosen out by Sturmius, *de Amicitia*, *de Senectute*, or that excellent epistle, containing almost the whole first book, *ad Quintum Fratrem;* some comedy of Terence or Plautus. But in Plautus, skilful choice must be used by the master, to train his scholar to a judgment, in cutting out perfectly over-old and unproper words. Cæsar's Commentaries are to be read with all curio-

sity, wherein especially (without all exception to be made either by friend or foe) is seen the unspotted propriety of the Latin tongue, even when it was, as the Grecians say, in ἀκμῇ, that is, at the highest pitch of all perfectness; or some Orations of Titus Livius, such as be both longest and plainest.

These books I would have him read now, a good deal at every lecture; for he shall not now use daily translation, but only construe again, and parse, where ye suspect is any need: yet let him not omit in these books his former exercise, in marking diligently, and writing orderly out his six points; and for translating, use you yourself, every second or third day, to choose out some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable common place out of his Orations, or some other part of Tully, by your discretion, which your scholar may not know where to find; and translate it you yourself into plain natural English, and then give it him to translate into Latin again, allowing him good space and time, to do it both with diligent heed and good advisement.

Here his wit shall be new set on work; his judgment, for right choice, truly tried; his memory, for sure retaining, better exercised, than by learning any thing without the book; and here, how much he hath profited shall plainly appear. When he bringeth it translated unto you, bring you forth the place of Tully; lay them together, compare the one with the other; commend his good choice and right placing of words; show his faults gently, but blame them not over-sharply; for of such missings, gently admonished of, proceedeth glad and good heed-taking; of good heed-taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after groweth to perfectness, if this order be diligently used by the scholar and gently handled by the master. For

here shall all the hard points of grammar, both easily and surely be learned up; which scholars, in common schools, by making of Latin, be groping at with care and fear, and yet in many years they scarce can reach unto them.

I remember, when I was young, in the North they went to the grammar school little children; they came from thence great lubbers, always learning and little profiting; learning without book every thing, understanding within the book little or nothing. Their whole knowledge by learning without the book was tied only to their tongue and lips, and never ascended up to the brain and head, and therefore was soon spit out of the mouth again. They were as men always going, but ever out of the way. And why? For their whole labour, or rather great toil without order, was even vain idleness without profit. Indeed they took great pains about learning, but employed small labour in learning; when by this way prescribed in this book, being straight, plain, and easy, the scholar is always labouring with pleasure, and ever going right on forward with profit. Always labouring, I say; for, or [*ere*] he have construed, parsed, twice translated over by good advisement, marked out his six points by skilful judgment, he shall have necessary occasion to read over every lecture a dozen times at the least. Which because he shall do always in order, he shall do it always with pleasure. And pleasure allureth love, love hath lust to labour, labour always obtaineth his purpose; as most truly both Aristotle * in his Rhetoric, and Œdipus in Sophocles do teach, saying, *πᾶν γὰρ ἐκπονούμενον ἁλισκε*, † &c. And this oft read-

* Aris. Rhet. 2, 19, § 13. 18. 19.

† *τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον ἁλωτόν·* Soph. Œd. Tyr. 110.

ing is the very right following of that good counsel, which Pliny * doth give to his friend Fuscus, saying, *Multum, non multa.* But to my purpose again:

When by this diligent and speedy reading over those forenamed good books of Tully, Terence, Cæsar, and Livy, and by this second kind of translating out of your English, time shall breed skill, and use shall bring perfection; then ye may try, if you will, your scholar with the third kind of translation; although the two first ways, by mine opinion, be not only sufficient of themselves, but also surer both for the master's teaching and scholar's learning, than this third way is; which is thus:

Write you in English some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other friend, naturally, according to the disposition of the child; or some tale, or fable, or plain narration, according as Aphthonius beginneth his Exercises of Learning; and let him translate it into Latin again, abiding in such place where no other scholar may prompt him. But yet, use you yourself such discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compass, both for words and sentences, of his former learning and reading. And now take heed, lest your scholar do not better in some point than you yourself, except ye have been diligently exercised in these kinds of translating before.

I had once a proof hereof, tried by good experience, by a dear friend of mine, when I came first from Cambridge to serve the Queen's Majesty, then Lady Elizabeth, lying at worthy Sir Anthony Deny's in Cheston.

* The sentence in Pliny's Epistles here referred to, is this: "Tu memineris, sui cujusque generis auctores diligenter eligere. Aiunt enim, multum legendum esse, non multa."

John Whitney, a young gentleman, was my bedfellow; who, willing by good nature, and provoked by mine advice, began to learn the Latin tongue, after the order declared in this book. We began after Christmas; I read unto him Tully *de Amicitia*, which he did every day twice translate, out of Latin into English, and out of English into Latin again. About St. Laurence tide after, to prove how he profited, I did choose out Torquatus' talk *de Amicitia*, in the latter end of the first book *de Finibus;* because that place was the same in matter, like in words and phrases, nigh to the form and fashion of sentences, as he had learned before in *de Amicitia.* I did translate it myself into plain English, and gave it him to turn into Latin; which he did so choicely, so orderly, so without any great miss in the hardest points of grammar, that some in seven year in grammar schools, yea, and some in the university too, cannot do half so well. This worthy young gentleman, to my greatest grief, to the great lamentation of that whole house, and especially to that most noble lady, now Queen Elizabeth herself, departed within few days out of this world.

And if in any cause a man may without offence of God speak somewhat ungodly, surely it was some grief unto me to see him hie so hastily to God as he did. A court full of such young gentlemen, were rather a paradise than a court upon earth. And though I had never poetical head to make any verse in any tongue, yet either love, or sorrow, or both, did wring out of me then, certain careful thoughts of my good will towards him; which, in my mourning for him, fell forth more by chance than either by skill or use, into this kind of misorderly metre:

Mine own John Whitney, now farewell,
Now death doth part us twain:
No death, but parting for a while,
Whom life shall join again.

Therefore, my heart, cease sighs and sobs,
Cease sorrow's seed to sow;
Whereof no gain, but greater grief
And hurtful care may grow.

Yet when I think upon such gifts
Of grace, as God him lent;
My loss, his gain, I must awhile
With joyful tears lament.

Young years to yield such fruit in court,
Where seed of vice is sown,
Is sometime read, in some place seen,
Amongst us seldom known.

His life he led, Christ's lore to learn,
With will to work the same;
He read to know, and knew to live,
And liv'd to praise his name.

So fast to friend, so foe to few,
So good to every wight,
I may well wish, but scarcely hope,
Again to have in sight.

The greater joy his life to me,
His death the greater pain:
His life in Christ so surely set,
Doth glad my heart again.

His life so good, his death better,
Do mingle mirth with care,
My spirit with joy, my flesh with grief,
So dear a friend to spare.

Thus God the good, while they be good,
Doth take, and leaves us ill;
That we should mend our sinful life,
In life to tarry still.

Thus we well left, he better reft,
In heaven to take his place,
That by like life and death, at last,
We may obtain like grace.

Mine own John Whitney, again farewell,
Awhile thus part in twain;
Whom pain doth part in earth, in heaven
Great joy shall join again.

In this place, or [*ere*] I proceed further, I will now declare by whose authority I am led, and by what reason I am moved to think, that this way of double translation out of one tongue into another, is either only, or at least chiefly to be exercised, especially of youth, for the ready and sure obtaining of any tongue.

There be six ways appointed by the best learned men, for the learning of tongues and increase of eloquence; as,

1. *Translatio linguarum.*
2. *Paraphrasis.*
3. *Metaphrasis.*
4. *Epitome.*
5. *Imitatio.*
6. *Declamatio.*

All these be used and commended, but in order and for respects, as person, ability, place, and time shall require. The five last be fitter for the master than the scholar, for men than for children, for the universities rather than for grammar schools. Yet nevertheless, which is fittest in mine opinion for our school, and which is either wholly to be refused, or partly to be used for our purpose, I will by good authority, and some reason I trust, particularly of every one, and largely enough of them all, declare orderly unto you.

TRANSLATIO LINGUARUM.

Translation is easy in the beginning for the scholar, and bringeth also much learning and great judgment to the master. It is most common and most commendable of all other exercises for youth: most common; for all your constructions in grammar schools be nothing else but translations; but because they be not double translations, (as I do require,) they bring forth bu simple and single commodity; and because also they lack the daily use of writing, which is the only thing that breedeth deep root, both in the wit for good understanding, and in the memory for sure keeping of all that is learned: most commendable also, and that by the judgment of all authors, which entreat of these exercises. Tully in the person of Lucius Crassus, (whom he maketh his example of eloquence and true judgment in learning,) doth not only praise specially, and choose this way of translation for a young man, but doth also * discommend and refuse his own former wont in exercising *Paraphrasin, et Metaphrasin. Paraphrasis* is, to take some eloquent oration, or some notable common place in Latin, and express it with other words: *Metaphrasis* is, to take some notable place out of a good poet, and turn the same sense into metre, or into other words in prose.

* These are Crassus's reasons against this sort of exercise: "Sed post animadverti, hoc esse in hoc vitii, quod ea verba, quæ maxime cujusque rei propria, quæque essent ornatissima atque optima, occupasset aut Ennius, si ad ejus versus me exercerem, aut Gracchus, si ejus orationem mihi forte proposuissem: ita, si iisdem verbis uterer, nihil prodesse; si aliis, etiam obesse, quum minus idoneis uti consuescerem. De Orat. lib. 1, p. 92 [c. 34, § 145].

Crassus, or rather Tully, doth mislike both these ways; because the author, either orator or poet, had chosen out before the fittest words and aptest composition for that matter; and so he, in seeking other, was driven to use the worse.

Quintilian also preferreth translation* before all other exercises; yet, having a lust to dissent from Tully, (as he doth in very many places, if a man read his Rhetorick over advisedly; and that rather of an envious mind, than of any just cause,) doth greatly commend *Paraphrasis*, †crossing spitefully Tully's judgment in refusing the same: and so do Ramus and Tallæus even at this day in France too. But such singularity in dissenting from the best men's judgments, in liking only their own opinions, is much misliked of all them that join with learning discretion and wisdom. For he that can neither like Aristotle in logic and philosophy, nor Tully in rhetoric and eloquence, will from these steps, likely enough, presume by like pride, to mount higher, to the misliking of greater matters; that is, either in religion to have a dissentious head, or in the commonwealth to have a

* Quintilian does not seem heartily to recommend this way of translating out of Greek into Latin; but rather gives us the opinion and judgment of the old orators about it, adding, that it was much practised by Crassus, Cicero, and Messala. His words are, "Vertere Græca in Latinum veteres nostri oratores optimum judicabant."

† "Sed et illa ex Latinis conversio, multum et ipsa contulerit. —— —— Ideoque ab illis dissentio, qui vertere orationes Latinas vetant, quia optimis occupatis, quicquid aliter dixerimus, necesse sit esse deterius. Nam neque semper est desperandum, aliquid illis, quæ dicta sunt, melius posse reperiri; neque adeo jejunam ac pauperem natura eloquentiam fecit, ut una de re bene dici nisi semel non possit." De Institut. Orat. lib. 10.

factious heart: as I knew one, a student in Cambridge, who for a singularity began first to dissent in the schools from Aristotle, and soon after became a perverse Arian against Christ and all true religion; and studied diligently Origen, Basilius, and St. Hierom, only to glean out of their works the pernicious heresies of Celsus, Eunomius, and Helvidius, whereby the church of Christ was so poisoned withal.

But to leave these high points of divinity: Surely in this quiet and harmless controversy, for the liking or misliking of *Paraphrasis* for a young scholar; even as far as Tully goeth beyond Quintilian, Ramus, and Tallæus, in perfect eloquence, even so much, by mine opinion, come they behind Tully for true judgment in teaching the same.

Plinius Secundus, a wise senator of great experience, excellently learned himself, a liberal patron of learned men, and the purest writer, in mine opinion, of all his age, (I except not Suetonius, his two schoolmasters Quintilian and Tacitus, nor yet his most excellent learned uncle, the elder Plinius,) doth express in an epistle to his friend Fuscus, many good ways for order in study; but he beginneth with translation, and preferreth it to all the rest. And because * his words be notable, I will recite them.

* There is so great a difference in this citation out of Pliny from the principal copies, that I am satisfied that Mr. Ascham (as I have observed before) trusted to his memory only, without ever looking into his author. This will appear plain enough to any one that shall compare this passage, as it stands here, with Pliny's text, which I shall give the reader out of Boxhornius's edition, printed by Elzevir.

"Utile imprimis, et multi præcipiunt, vel ex Græco in Latinum, vel ex Latino vertere in Græcum: quo genere exercitationis proprietas splendorque verborum, copia figurarum,

" Utile in primis, ut multi præcipiunt, ex Græco in Latinum, et ex Latino vertere in Græcum: quo genere exercitationis, proprietas splendorque verborum, apta structura sententiarum, figurarum copia, et explicandi vis colligitur. Præterea imitatione optimorum, facultas similia inveniendi paratur: et quæ legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intelligentia ex hoc, et judicium acquiritur."

You perceive how Pliny teacheth, that by this exercise of double translating is learned easily, sensibly, by little and little, not only all the hard congruities of grammar, the choice of aptest words, the right framing of words and sentences, comeliness of figures and forms fit for every matter and proper for every tongue; but that which is greater also, in marking daily and following diligently thus the steps of the best authors, like invention of arguments, like order in disposition, like utterance in elocution is easily gathered up; whereby your scholar shall be brought not only to like eloquence, but also to all true understanding and right judgment both for writing and speaking. And where Dionysius Halicarnassæus hath written two

vis explicandi, præterea imitatione optimorum similia inveniendi facultas paratur: simul quæ legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intelligentia ex hoc, et judicium acquiritur."

Now lest any should wonder at this strange inaccuracy (for so it seems to be) in a person of Mr. Ascham's learning and judgment; I shall transcribe what Casaubon, in his notes on Theocritus, has remarked on the like occasion.

" Veterum grammaticorum mos est in proferendis auctorum locis, id unicum, cujus gratia eos laudant, spectare, neglecta interim sententia. Ex eo est, quod multa sæpe apud eos aliter scripta inveniuntur, quam in ipsis auctoribus habentur."

excellent books,* the one *de Delectu Optimorum Verborum* (the which, I fear, is lost), the other, Of the right framing of words and sentences, which doth remain yet in Greek, to the great profit of all them that truly study for eloquence: yet this way of double translating shall bring the whole profit of both these books to a diligent scholar, and that easily and pleasantly, both for fit choice of words and apt composition of sentences.

And by these authorities and reasons am I moved to think this way of double translating, either only or chiefly, to be fittest for the speedy and perfect attaining of any tongue. And for speedy attaining, I durst venture a good wager, if a scholar, in whom is aptness, love, diligence, and constancy, would but translate after this sort, one little book in Tully, (as *de Senectute*, with two epistles, the first *ad Q. Fratum*, the other *ad Lentulum*, the last save one in the first book,) that scholar, I say, should come to a better knowledge in the Latin tongue, than the most part do, that spend four or five years in tossing all the rules of grammar in common schools. Indeed this one book, with these two epistles, is not sufficient to afford all Latin words (which is not necessary for a young scholar to know), but it is able to furnish him fully for all points of

* Dionysius, in the beginning of his excellent treatise *περὶ Συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*, acquaints young Rufus Melitius, he designed him another present the year following, on his next ensuing birth-day, which should be a treatise *concerning the right choice of words*. But whether he ever performed what he there promises, is uncertain. *Ἐὰν δὲ ἐγγένηταί μοι σχολὴ, καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑτέραν ἐξοίσω σοι γραφὴν, ἵνα τὸν Λεκτικὸν τόπον τελειώς ἐξειργασμένον ἔχῃς. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν πραγματείαν εἰς νέωτα πάλιν ὥραις ταῖς αὐταῖς προσδέχου.*

grammar, with the right placing, ordering, and use of words, in all kind of matter. And why not? For it is read, that Dion Prussæus, that wise philosopher and excellent orator of * all his time, did come to the great learning and utterance that was in him, by reading and following only two books, *Phædon Platonis*, and Demosthenes most notable oration, *περὶ Παραπρεσβείας*.

And a better and nearer example herein may be our most noble Queen Elizabeth, who never took yet Greek nor Latin grammar in her hand, after the first declining of a noun and a verb; but only by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates daily, without missing every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to such a perfect understanding in both the tongues, and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with such a judgment, as they be few in number in both the universities, or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable with her majesty. And to conclude in a short room the commodities of double translation: surely the mind by daily marking, first, the cause and matter; then, the words and phrases; next, the order and composition; after, the reason and arguments; then, the forms and figures of both the tongues; lastly, the measure and compass of every sentence; must needs, by little and little, draw unto it the like shape of eloquence, as the author doth use, which is read. And thus much for double translation.

* He lived in Trajan's time, and in great favour and esteem with the Emperor.

PARAPHRASIS.

Paraphrasis, the second point, is not only * to express at large with more words, but to strive and contend (as Quintilian saith) to translate the best Latin authors into other Latin words, as many, or thereabouts.

This way of exercise † was used first by C. Carbo, and taken up for a while by L. Crassus, but soon after, upon due proof thereof, rejected justly by Crassus and Cicero; yet allowed and made sterling again by M. Quintilian: nevertheless, shortly after, by better assay, disallowed of his own scholar, Plinius Secundus, who termeth it rightly thus, ‡ *audax contentio*. It is a bold comparison indeed, to think to say better, than that is best. Such turning of the best into worst, is much like the turning of good wine, out of a fair sweet flagon of silver, into a foul musty bottle of leather; or to turn pure gold and silver into foul brass and copper.

* "Neque ego Παράφρασιν esse interpretationem tantum volo, sed circa eosdem sensus certamen atque æmulationem." Quintil. lib. 10, c. 5, § 5.

† In quotidianis autem cogitationibus equidem mihi adolescentulus proponere solebam illam exercitationem maxime, qua C. Carbonem nostrum illum inimicum solitum esse uti sciebam, ut aut versibus propositis quam maxime gravibus, aut oratione aliqua lecta ad eum finem, quem memoria possem comprehendere, eam rem ipsam, quam legissem, verbis aliis quam maxime possem lectis pronunciarem." Cic de Orat. lib. 1.

‡ "Licebit interdum et notissima eligere, et certare cum electis. Audax hæc, non tamen improba, quia secreta, contentio: quanquam multos videmus ejusmodi certamina sibi cum multa laude sumpsisse, quosque subsequi satis habebant, dum non desperant, antecessisse." Pliny, in the same epistle.

Such kind of *Paraphrasis*, in turning, chopping, and changing the best to worse, either in the mint or schools, (though Mr. Brokke and Quintilian both say the contrary,) is much misliked by the best and wisest of men. I can better allow another kind of *Paraphrasis*, to turn rude and barbarous, into proper and eloquent: which nevertheless is an exercise not fit for a scholar, but for a perfect master; who in plenty hath good choice, in copy hath right judgment, and grounded skill; as did appear to be in Sebastian Castalio, in translating Kempe's book, *de Imitando Christo*.

But to follow Quintilianus' advice for *Paraphrasis*, were even to take pain to seek the worse and fouler way, when the plain and fairer is occupied before your eyes.

The old and best authors that ever wrote, were content, if occasion required to speak twice of one matter, not to change the words, but ῥητῶς, that is, word for word, to express it again. For they thought that a matter, well expressed with fit words and apt composition, was not to be altered, but liking it well themselves, they thought it would also be well allowed of others.

A schoolmaster (such one as I require) knoweth that I say true. He readeth in Homer, almost in every book, and especially *in secundo et nono Iliados*, not only some verses, but whole leaves, not to be altered with new, but to be uttered with the old self-same words. He knoweth that Xenophon, writing twice of Agesilaus, once in his Life, again in the History of the Greeks, in one matter, keepeth always the self-same words. He doth the like, speaking of Socrates, both in the beginning of his apology and in the last end of Ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

Demosthenes also, in the fourth Philippic, doth borrow his own words, uttered before in his oration *de Chersoneso*. He doth the like, and that more at large, in his orations against Androtion and Timocrates.

In Latin also, Cicero in some places, and Virgil in more, do repeat one matter with the self-same words. These excellent authors did thus, not for lack of words, but by judgment and skill, whatsoever other more curious and less skilful do think, write, and do.

Paraphrasis nevertheless hath good place in learning, but not, by mine opinion, for any scholar; but it is only to be left to a perfect master, either to expound openly a good author withal, or to compare privately for his own exercise, how some notable place of an excellent author may be uttered with other fit words. But if ye alter also the composition, form, and order, then that is not *Paraphrasis*, but *Imitatio*, as I will fully declare in fitter place.

The scholar shall win nothing by *Paraphrasis*, but only, if we may believe Tully, to choose worse words, to place them out of order, to fear over-much the judgment of the master, to mislike over-much the hardness of learning; and by use to gather up faults which hardly will be left off again.

The master, in teaching it, shall rather increase his own labour than his scholar's profit. For when the scholar shall bring unto his master a piece of Tully or Cæsar, turned into other Latin, then must the master come to Quintilian's goodly lesson *de Emendatione;* "which (as he saith) is *the most profitable part of

* "Sequitur emendatio, pars studiorum longe utilissima. Neque enim sine causa creditum est, Stilum non minus agere, quum delet." Quint.

teaching;" but not in mine opinion, and namely for youth in grammar schools. For the master now taketh double pains; first, to mark what is amiss; again, to invent what may be said better. And here perchance, a very good master may easily both deceive himself and lead his scholar into error.

It requireth greater learning and deeper judgment than is to be hoped for at any schoolmaster's hand; that is, to be able always learnedly and perfectly,

Mutare, * *quod ineptum est*:
Transmutare, quod perversum est:
Replere, quod deest;
Detrahere, quod obest:
Expungere, quod inane est.

And that which requireth more skill and deeper consideration,

Premere tumentia:
Extollere humilia;
Astringere luxuriantia:
Componere dissoluta.

The master may here only stumble, and perchance fall in teaching, to the marring and maiming of the scholar in learning; when it is a matter of much reading, of great learning, and tried judgment, to make true difference betwixt

* These directions for emendation, are taken from Quintilian. "Hujus autem operis est, adjicere, detrahere, mutare. Sed facilius in his simpliciusque judicium, quæ replenda, vel dejicienda sunt: premere vero tumentia, humilia extollere, luxuriantia astringere, inordinata digerere, soluta componere, exultantia coercere, duplicis operæ."

Sublime, et tumidum:
Grande, et immodicum:
Decorum, et ineptum;
Perfectum et nimium.

Some men of our time counted perfect masters of eloquence, in their own opinion the best, in other men's judgments very good (as Omphalius every where, Sadoletus in many places; yea, also my friend Osorius, namely in his epistle to the Queen, and in his whole book *de Justitia*); have so over-reached themselves in making true difference in the points afore rehearsed, as though they had been brought up in some school *in Asia, to learn to decline, rather than in Athens with Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes (from whence Tully fetched his eloquence), to understand, what in every matter to be spoken or written on, is in very deed *nimium, satis, parum;* that is for to say, to all considerations *decorum:* which, as it is the hardest point in all learning, so it is the fairest and only mark that scholars in all their study must always shoot at, if they purpose, another day, to be either sound in religion or wise and discreet in any vocation of the commonwealth.

* What sort of oratory the Asiatics generally affected, is easily seen in Tully. A passage or two to this purpose I shall cite out of his book *de claris Orat.* "Genera autem Asiaticæ dictionis duo sunt: Unum sententiosum et argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus et severis, quam concinnis et venustis. Aliud autem genus est, non tam sententiis frequentatum, quam verbis volucre atque incitatum; quale est nunc Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato et faceto genere verborum." And in the same book, "Hinc Asiatici oratores non contemnendi quidem nec celeritate, nec copia, sed parum pressi, et nimis redundantes. Rhodii saniores, et Atticorum similiores."

Again, in the lowest degree, it is no low point of learning and judgment, for a schoolmaster to make true difference betwixt

Humile, et depressum :
Lene, et remissum :
Siccum, et aridum :
Exile, et macrum :
Inaffectatum, et neglectum.

In these points, some, loving Melancthon well, as he was well worthy, but yet not considering well nor wisely, how he of nature, and all his life and study by judgment, was wholly spent in *genere disciplinabili ;* that is, in teaching, reading, and expounding plainly and aptly school matters, and therefore employed thereunto a fit, sensible, and calm kind of speaking and writing: some, I say, with very well liking, but not with very well weighing Melancthon's doings, do frame themselves a style cold, lean, and weak, though the matter be never so warm and earnest; not much unlike unto one, that had a pleasure, in a rough, rainy, winter day, to clothe himself with nothing else but a demi-buckram cassock, plain without plaits, and single without lining; which will neither bear off wind nor weather, nor yet keep out the sun in any hot day.

Paraphrasis in use of teaching, hath hurt Melancthon's style of writing.

Some suppose, and that by good reason, that Melancthon himself came to this low kind of writing by using overmuch *Paraphrasis* in reading. For studying thereby to make every thing straight and easy in smoothing and planing all things too much, never leaveth, while the sense itself be left both loose and lazy. And some of those *Paraphrases* of Melancthon

be set out in print, as *Pro Archia Poeta, et M. Marcello.* But a scholar, by mine opinion, is better occupied in playing or sleeping, than by spending time, not only vainly, but also harmfully, in such a kind of exercise.

If a master would have a perfect example to follow, how in *genere sublimi*, to avoid *nimium;* or in *mediocri*, to attain *satis;* or in *humili*, to eschew *parum;* let him read diligently, for the first, *secundam Philippicam;* for the mean, *de Natura Deorum;* and for the lowest, *Partitiones.* Or if in another tongue you look for like example in like perfection, for all those three degrees, read *Pro Ctesiphonte, Ad Leptinem, et Contra Olympiodorum;* and what wit, art, and diligence is able to afford, ye shall plainly see.

For our time, the odd man to perform all three perfectly, whatsoever he doth, and to know the way to do them skilfully, whensoever he list, is, in my poor opinion, Joannes Sturmius.

He also counselleth all scholars to beware of *Paraphrasis*, except it be from worse to better; from rude and barbarous, to proper and pure Latin; and yet no man to exercise that neither, except such one as is already furnished with plenty of learning, and grounded with steadfast judgment before.

All these faults, that thus many wise men do find with the exercise of *Paraphrasis*, in turning the best Latin into other, as good as they can, that is (ye may be sure) into a great deal worse than it was, both in right choice for propriety, and true placing for good order, are committed also commonly in all common schools by the schoolmasters, in tossing and troubling young wits (as I said *in the beginning) with that butcherly fear in making of Latins.

* See first few pages of Book I.

Therefore, in place of Latins for young scholars, and of *Paraphrasis* for the masters, I would have double translation specially used. For in double translating a perfect piece of Tully or Cæsar, neither the scholar in learning, nor the master in teaching, can err. A true touchstone, a sure metewand lieth before both their eyes. For all right congruity, propriety of words, order in sentences; the right imitation to invent good matter, to dispose it in good order, to confirm it with good reason, to express any purpose fitly and orderly, is learned thus both easily and perfectly. Yea, to miss sometime in this kind of translation bringeth more profit, than to hit right either in *Paraphrasis* or making of Latins. For though ye say well in a Latin making or in a *Paraphrasis*, yet you being but in doubt, and uncertain whether ye say well or no, ye gather and lay up in memory no sure fruit of learning thereby, but if ye fault in translation, ye are easily taught how perfectly to amend it, and so well warned how after to eschew all such faults again.

Paraphrasis, therefore, by mine opinion, is not meet for grammar schools, nor yet very fit for young men in the university, until study and time have bred in them perfect learning and steadfast judgment.

There is a kind of *Paraphrasis* which may be used without all hurt to much profit, but it serveth only the Greek, and not the Latin, nor no other tongue; as so alter *linguam Ionicam, aut Doricam*, into *meram Atticam*. A notable example there is left unto us by a notable learned man, Dionysius Halicarnassæus; who, *in

* I have here given the true title of Dionysius's book. It was printed in the former edition, *περὶ Συντάξεος, ἁμαρτήματι μνημονικῷ*. The story of Candaules and Gyges is in page 22 of the London edition of Dionysius.

his book περὶ Συνθέσεως Ὀνομάτων, doth translate the goodly story of Candaules and Gyges, in the first book of Herodotus, out of *Ionica lingua* into *Atticam*. Read the place, and ye shall take both pleasure and profit in conference of it. A man that is exercised in reading Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Demosthenes, in using to turn like places of Herodotus after like sort, should shortly come to such a knowledge in understanding, speaking, and writing the Greek tongue, as few or none have yet attained in England. The like exercise out of *Dorica lingua* may be also used, if a man take * that little book of Plato, *Timæus Locrus, de Anima mundi,*† *et Natura*, which is written *Dorice*, and turn it into such Greek as Plato useth in other works. The book is but two leaves, and the labour would be but two weeks; but surely the profit for easy understanding, and true writing the Greek tongue, would countervail with the toil that some men take in otherwise coldly reading that tongue two years.

And yet for the Latin tongue, and for the exercise of *Paraphrasis* in those places of Latin that cannot be bettered, if some young man, excellent of wit, courageous in will, lusty of nature, and desirous to contend even with the best Latin, to better it if he can; surely I commend his forwardness: and for his better instruction therein, I will set before him as notable an example of *Paraphrasis* as is in record of learning. Cicero himself doth contend in two sundry places, to express one matter with divers words; and

* One would imagine from these words Mr. Ascham believed Plato to be the author of that treatise. The title of it is Τιμαίῳ τῷ Λοκρῷ περὶ ψυχᾶς Κόσμου, καὶ Φύσιος.

† Mayer has *de Animo*.

that is *Paraphrasis*, saith Quintilian. The matter, I suppose, is taken out of Panætius; and therefore being translated out of Greek at divers times, is uttered for his purpose with divers words and forms; which kind of exercise for perfect learned men is very profitable.

2. De Finibus, *Lib. sec.* [c. 14, § 45, 46].

a. "Homines enim, * etsi aliis multis, tamen hoc uno a bestiis plurimum differunt, quòd rationem habeant a natura datam, mentemque et acrem et vigentem, celerrimeque multa simul agitantem, et, ut ita dicam, sagacem: quæ et causas rerum et consecutiones videat, et similitudines transferat, et disjuncta conjugat, et cum præsentibus futura copulet, omnemque complectatur vitæ consequentis statum. Eademque ratio fecit hominem hominum appetentem, cumque his natura, et sermone, et usu congruentem; ut profectus a caritate domesticorum ac suorum, serpat longius, et se implicet primum civium, deinde omnium mortalium societate: atque, ut ad Archytam scripsit Plato, non sibi se soli natum meminerit, sed patriæ, sed suis, ut perexigua pars ipsi relinquatur. Et quoniam eadem natura cupiditatem ingenuit homini veri inveniendi, quod facillime apparet, cum vacui curis, etiam quid in cœlo fiat, scire avemus:" &c.

1. Officiorum, *Lib. pri.* [c. 4, § 11—13].

a. "Homo autem, quod rationis est particeps, per

* These citations, which were very imperfect before, are now carefully corrected from the printed editions of Tully. And here I cannot but observe, that this book has undergone the common fate of all orphans, and suffered very much for its parent's untimely death.

quam consequentia cernit, causas rerum videt, earumque progressus, et quasi antecessiones non ignorat, similitudines comparat, et rebus præsentibus adjungit, atque annectit futuras: facile totius vitæ cursum videt, ad eamque degendam præparat res necessarias. Eademque natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini, et ad orationis et ad vitæ societatem: ingeneratque inprimis præcipuum quendam amorem in eos qui procreati sunt; impellitque, ut hominum cœtus et celebrationes esse et a se obiri velit; ob easque causas studeat parare ea, quæ suppeditent et ad cultum et ad victum; nec sibi soli, sed conjugi, liberis, cæterisque, quos charos habeat, tuerique debeat. Quæ cura exsuscitat etiam animos, et majores ad rem gerendam facit. Inprimisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio, atque investigatio. Itaque quum sumus necessariis negotiis curisque vacui, tum avemus aliquid videre, audire, addiscere; cognitionemque rerum aut occultarum, aut admirabilium, ad beate vivendum necessariam ducimus."

The conference of these two places, containing so excellent a piece of learning as this is, expressed by so worthy a wit as Tully was, must needs bring great pleasure and profit to him that maketh true account of learning and honesty. But if we had the Greek author, the first pattern of all, and thereby to see how Tully's wit did work at divers times; how, out of one excellent image might be framed two other, one in face and favour, but somewhat differing in form, figure, and colour; surely such a piece of workmanship, compared with the pattern itself, would better please the eyes of honest, wise, and learned minds, than two of the fairest Venuses that ever Apelles made.

And thus much for all kind of *Paraphrasis*, fit or

unfit for scholars or other, as I am led to think, not only by mine own experience, but chiefly by the authority and judgment of those whom I myself would gladliest follow, and do counsel all mine to do the same, not contending with any other, that will otherwise either think or do.

METAPHRASIS.

This kind of exercise is all one with *Paraphrasis*, save it is out of verse either into prose, or into some other kind of metre; or else out of prose into verse, which was Socrates' exercise and pastime (as Plato reporteth) when he was * in prison, to translate Æsop's Fables into verse. Quintilian doth greatly praise † also this exercise; but because Tully doth disallow it in young men, by mine opinion it were not well to use it in grammar schools, even for the self same causes that be recited against *Paraphrasis*. And therefore, for the use or misuse of it, the same is to be thought

* What he alludes to here, is in the beginning of Plato's Phædo. *Περὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν πεποίηκας, ἐντείνας τοὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου λόγους, καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω προοίμιον, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές με ἤροντο ἤδη, ἀτὰρ καὶ Εὐηνὸς πρώην, ὅ, τι ποτὲ διανοηθεὶς, ἐπειδὴ δεῦρο ἦλθες, ἐποιήσας αὐτὰ, πρότερον οὐδὲν πώποτε ποιήσας.*

† "Sed et illa ex Latinis conversio, multum et ipsa contulerit. Ac de carminibus quidem neminem credo dubitare, quo solo genere exercitationis dicitur usus esse Sulpicius. Nam et sublimis spiritus attollere orationem potest; et verba poetica libertate audaciora, præsumunt eandem proprie dicendi facultatem. Sed et ipsis sententiis adjicere licet oratorium robur, et omissa supplere, et effusa substringere." Quint. lib. 10.

that is spoken of *Paraphrasis* before. This was Sulpicius's exercise; and he, gathering up thereby a poetical kind of talk, is justly named of Cicero * *grandis et tragicus orator:* which, I think, is spoken, not for his praise, but for other men's warning, to eschew the like fault. Yet, nevertheless, if our schoolmaster, for his own instruction, be desirous to see a perfect example hereof, I will recite one, which I think no man is so bold will say that he can amend it; and that is Chryses the priest's oration to the Greeks, in the beginning of Homer's Ilias, turned excellently into prose by Socrates himself, and that advisedly and purposely for other to follow. And therefore he calleth this exercise † in the same place Μίμησις, that is, *Imitatio;* which is most true: but in this book, for teaching sake, I will name it *Metaphrasis*, retaining the word that all teachers in this case do use.

HOMERUS I. Ιλίαδ. (12—42).

Ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,

* "Fuit enim Sulpicius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem audiverim, grandis, et, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator. Vox quum magna, tum suavis et splendida: gestus et motus corporis ita venustus, ut tamen ad forum, non ad scenam institutus videretur. Incitata et volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen nec circumfluens oratio." Cic. de claris Orat. p. 181.

From this character here given by Tully, Sulpicius seems to be called *grandis et tragicus*, rather from his theatrical management of himself in his delivery, than from his style and method of expression.

† *Οὐκοῦν τό γε ὁμοιοῦν ἑαυτὸν ἄλλῳ, ἢ κατὰ φωνὴν, ἢ κατὰ σχῆμα, μιμεῖσθαί ἐστιν ἐκεῖνον ᾧ ἄν τις ὁμοιοῖ; Τί μήν; Ἐν δὴ τῷ τοιούτῳ (ὡς ἔοικεν) οὗτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ διὰ μιμήσεως τὴν διήγησιν ποιοῦνται. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Εἰ δέ γε μηδαμοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρύπτοιτο ὁ ποιητὴς, πᾶσα ἂν αὐτῷ ἄνευ μιμήσεως ἡ ποιήσίς τε καὶ ἡ διήγησις γεγονυῖα εἴη.* Plato de Rep. lib. 3.

Λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,
Στέμμα τ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,
Χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ· καὶ ἐλίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιούς,
Ἀτρείδα δὲ μάλιστα, δύω κοσμήτορε λαῶν.
"Ἀτρεῖδαί τε, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ,
Ὑμῖν μὲν Θεοὶ δοῖεν, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
Ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι.
Παῖδα δέ μοι λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθε,
Ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν, ἑκήβολον Ἀπόλλωνα."
Ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοὶ,
Αἰδεῖσθαί θ' ἱερῆα, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα.
Ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρείδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἤνδανε θυμῷ,
Ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.
"Μή σε, γέρον, κοίλῃσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κιχείω,
Ἢ νῦν δηθύνοντ', ἢ ὕστερον αὖτις ἰόντα,
Μή νν τοι οὐ χραίσμῃ σκῆπτρον, καὶ στέμμα Θεοῖο.
Τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω, πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν,
Ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, ἐν Ἄργεῖ τηλόθι πάτρης
Ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην, καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν.
Ἀλλ' ἴθι, μὴ μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὡς κε νέηαι."
Ὡς ἔφατ', ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρων, καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ.
Βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
Πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἠρᾶθ' ὁ γεραιὸς
Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ.
"Κλῦθί μευ, Ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας,
Κίλλάν τε ζαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις,
Σμινθεῦ· εἴποτε τοι χαριέντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,
Ἢ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα
Ταύρων, ἠδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἔελδωρ,
Τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν."

Socrates, in Plato's third book *de Republica*, saith thus: Φράσω δὲ ἄνευ μέτρου· οὐ γὰρ εἰμὶ ποιητικός.

Ἦλθεν ὁ Χρύσης τῆς τε θυγατρὸς λύτρα φέρων, καὶ ἱκέτης τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν βασιλέων· καὶ εὔχετο ἐκείνοις μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς δοῦναι ἑλόντας τὴν Τροίαν, αὐτοῦς δὲ σωθῆναι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα οἱ αὐτῷ λῦσαι, δεξαμένους ἄποινα, καὶ τὸν θεὸν αἰδεσθέντας. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι

ἐσέβοντο καὶ συνήνουν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ἠγρίαινεν, ἐντελλόμενος νῦν τ' ἀπιέναι, καὶ αὖθις μὴ ἐλθεῖν, μὴ αὐτῷ τό, τε σκῆπτρον, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα οὐκ ἐπαρκέσοι· πρὶν δὲ λυθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἐν Ἄργει ἔφη γηράσειν μετὰ οὗ. ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐκέλευε, καὶ μὴ ἐρεθίζειν, ἵνα σῶς οἴκαδε ἔλθοι. Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἀκούσας, ἔδεισέ τε καὶ ἀπῄει σιγῇ· ἀποχωρήσας δ' ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· πολλὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι εὔχετο, τάς τε ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλῶν, καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκων καὶ ἀπαιτῶν, εἴτι πώποτε ἢ ἐν ναῶν οἰκοδομήσεσιν, ἢ ἐν ἱερῶν θυσιαῖς κεχαρισμένον δωρήσαιτο, ὧν δὴ χάριν κατεύχετο τίσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὰ ἃ δάκρυα τοῖς ἐκείνου βέλεσι.

To compare * Homer and Plato together, two wonders of nature and art for wit and eloquence, is most pleasant and profitable for a man of ripe judgment. Plato's turning of Homer in this place doth not ride aloft in poetical terms, but goeth low and soft on foot, as prose and *pedestris oratio* should do. If Sulpicius had had † Plato's consideration in right using this

* Plato himself, (if we may believe Longinus,) as well as the rest of the Grecian writers, owes not a little to Homer, their common master; though he was so ungrateful as to forbid him his Republic.

Οὐ γὰρ μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο. Στησίχορος ἔτι πρότερον, ὅ, τε Ἀρχίλοχος. Πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ ἐκείνου νάματος εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παρατροπὰς ἀποχετευσάμενος. Sect. 13.

† Although in this instance, and mostly elsewhere, Plato flows along in a soft and gentle stream, *χεύματί τινι ἀψοφητὶ ῥέων*, as Longinus speaks; yet he has his sublimities too, and bold flights; and some passages there are to be found in his writings, not entirely clear of the same censure, [illegible] is by Tully cast upon Sulpicius. And this perhaps [illegible] ve occasioned likewise by his passionate affection for the study of poetry in his youthful days. Who [illegible] tence, and not be offended, which Longi[illegible] ca ninth book *de Republica?* *Καὶ ἕνεκα τῆς τοῦ*

exercise, he had not deserved the name of *tragicus orator;* who should rather have studied to express *vim Demosthenis*, than *furorem poetæ*, how good soever he was whom he did follow.

And therefore would I have our schoolmaster weigh well together Homer and Plato, and mark diligently these four points; what is kept, what is added, what is left out, what is changed either in choice of words or form of sentences. Which four points be the right tools, to handle like a workman this kind of work; as our scholar shall better understand, when he hath been a good while in the university: to which time and place I chiefly remit this kind of exercise.

And because I ever thought examples to be the best kind of teaching, I will recite a golden sentence out of that poet, which is next unto Homer, not only in time, but also in worthiness; which hath been a pattern for many worthy wits to follow by this kind of *Metaphrasis*. But I will content myself with four workmen, two in Greek and two in Latin, such as in both the tongues wiser and worthier cannot be looked for. Surely no stone set in gold by most cunning workmen, is indeed, if right account be made, more worthy the looking on, than this golden sentence, diversly wrought upon by such four excellent masters.

Hesiodus, Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμέρ. ά [293—297.]

1. Οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει
Φρασσάμενος, τά κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω.

λακτίζοντες, καὶ κυρίττοντες ἀλλήλους σιδηροῖς κέρασι, καὶ ὁπλαῖς, ἀποκτιννύουσι δι' ἀπληστίαν. For such harsh and metaphorical expressions as these, and for his poetical and figurative schemes (σχήμασί τε ποιητικοῖς ἐσχάτην προσβάλλουσιν ἀηδίαν), Plato is somewhat severely handled by Dionysius, in his letter to Cn. Pompey.

2. Ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος, ὃς εὖ εἰκόσι πίθηται.
3. Ὅς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ, μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων
Ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνήρ.

Thus rudely turned into base English:

1. That man in wisdom passeth all,
To know the best who hath a head:
2. And meetly wise eke counted shall,
Who yields himself to wise men's read.
3. Who hath no wit, nor none will hear,
Among all fools the bell may bear.

Sophocles in Antigone. [720—723.]

1. Φήμ' ἔγωγε, πρεσβεύειν πολὺ
Φύναι τὸν ἄνδρα πάντ' ἐπιστήμης πλέω.
2. Εἰ δ' οὖν, (φιλεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο μὴ τάυτῃ ῥέπειν)
Καὶ τῶν λεγόντων εὖ, καλὸν τὸ μανθάνειν.

Mark the wisdom of Sophocles in leaving out the last sentence, because it was not comely * for the son to use it to his father.

D. Basileus in his Exhortation to Youth. [§ 1.]

Μέμνησθε †τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, ὃς φησί· Ἄριστον μὲν εἶναι τὸν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ δέοντα ξυνορῶντα, ἐσθλὸν δὲ κἀκεῖνον, τὸν τοῖς παρ' ἑτέρων ὑποδειχθεῖσιν ἑπόμενον· τὸν δὲ πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἐπιτήδειον, ἀχρεῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἅπαντα.

M. Cicero pro A. Cluentio [*c.* 31, § 84.]

Sapientissimum esse dicunt eum, cui quod opus sit, ipsi veniat in mentem: proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet. In stultitia contra est. Minus enim

* Hæmon speaks to his father Creon.

† This is taken from the beginning of St. Basil's Discourse to the young students, directing them how to read the Grecian writers with advantage. Εἰ μὲν οὖν προθύμως δέχοισθε τὰ λεγόμενα, τῆς δευτέρας τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἔσεσθε παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ τάξεως. Εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι δυσχερές· αὐτοὶ δὲ μέμνησθε τῶν ἐπῶν δηλονότι, ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνος φησί· Ἄριστον, &c.

stultus est is, cui nihil in mentem venit, quam ille, qui quod stulte alteri venit in mentem, comprobat.

Cicero doth not plainly express the last sentence, but doth invent it fitly for his purpose, to taunt the folly and simplicity in his adversary Actius, not weighing wisely the subtle doings of Chrysogonus and Stalenus.

Tit. Livius in Orat. Minucii, Lib. 22. [*c.* 29.]

Sæpe ego audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit; secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere scit, eum extremi esse ingenii.

Now which of all these four, Sophocles, St. Basil, Cicero, or Livy, hath expressed Hesiod best, the judgment is as hard, as the workmanship of every one is most excellent indeed. Another example out of the Latin tongue also I will recite, for the worthiness of the workman thereof, and that is Horace; who hath so turned the beginning of Terence's *Eunuchus*, as doth work in me a pleasant admiration, as oft soever as I compare those two places together. And though every master, and every good scholar too, do know the places both in Terence and Horace, yet will I set them here in one place together, that with more pleasure they may be compared together.

Terentius in Eunucho. [i, 1.]

Quid igitur faciam? non eam? ne nunc quidem
Quum accersor ultro? an potius ita me comparem,
Non perpeti meretricum contumelias?
Exclusit, revocat; redeam? non si me obsecret.

Parmeno, a little after:

Here, quæ res in se neque consilium neque modum
Habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes.

In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; injuriæ,
Suspiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ,
Bellum, pax rursum. Incerta hæc si tu postules
Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,
Quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias.

Horatius, lib. Serm. Lib. 2, *Sat.* 3. [262—271.]

Nec nunc quum me vocet ultro,
Accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
Exclusit, revocat: redeam? non, si obsecret. Ecce
Servus non paulo sapientior: O here, quæ res
Nec modum habet, neque consilium, ratione modoque,
Tractari non vult. In amore hæc sunt mala, bellum,
Pax rursum. Hæc si quis tempestatis prope ritu
Mobilia, et cæca fluitantia sorte, laboret
Reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicit, ac si
Insanire paret certa ratione modoque.

This exercise may bring much profit to ripe heads and staid judgments; because, in travelling in it, the mind must needs be very attentive, and busily occupied in turning and tossing itself many ways, and conferring with great pleasure the variety of worthy wits and judgments together. But this harm may soon come thereby, and namely to young scholars, lest, in seeking other words and new form of sentences, they chance upon the worse; for the which only cause Cicero thinketh this exercise not to be fit for young men.

EPITOME.

This is a way of study belonging rather to matter, than to words; to memory, than to utterance; to those that be learned already: and hath small place at all among young scholars in grammar schools. It may profit privately some learned men, but it hath hurt generally learning itself very much. For by it have we lost whole Trogus, the best part of T. Livius,

the goodly dictionary of * Pompeius Festus, a great deal of the civil law, and other many notable books: for the which cause I do the more mislike this exercise both in old and young.

Epitome is good privately for himself that doth work it, but ill commonly for all other that use other men's labour therein. A silly poor kind of study, not unlike to the doing of those poor folk, which neither till, nor sow, nor reap themselves, but glean by stealth upon other men's grounds. Such have empty barns for dear years.

Grammar schools have few *Epitomes* to hurt them, except *Epitheta Textoris*, and such beggarly gatherings, as † Horman, ‡ Whittington, and other like vul-

* This Dictionary of Festus, as it was a learned, so was it a voluminous work; for it contained no less than twenty large books, as we may see from Paulus Diaconus's words, who epitomized it: "Festus Pompeius Romanis studiis affatim eruditus, tam sermonum abditorum, quam etiam quarundam causarum origines aperiens, opus suum ad viginti usque prolixa volumina extendit."

† See p. 89. I have now in my hands Mr. Horman's book. The title of it is, *Vulgaria viri doctissimi Gul. Hormanni Cæsarisburgensis.* And it is dedicated to his friend and patron William Atwater, bishop of Lincoln. It consists, as I said before, of single sentences; one of which, being in honour of our royal founder, (who was designed to have been canonized, had not the charges at Rome proved excessive,) I shall give the reader, as a specimen,

King Henry doth many divers miracles,
Divus Henricus non una miraculorum specie inclarescit.

‡ Rob. Whittington was born in Litchfield, and educated in Oxford. He was thought by some little inferior to the ablest schoolmasters of the age, not excepting even Lilly; with whom and Horman he could not agree; they resenting the title of *Proto-vates Angliæ*, which Whittington had vainly assumed. He published a great deal; and amongst the rest, his *Vulgaria*

gars for making of Latins. Yea, I do wish that all rules for young scholars were shorter than they be. For without doubt *grammatica* itself is sooner and surer learned by examples of good authors, than by the naked rules of grammarians. *Epitome* hurteth more in the universities, and study of philosophy; but most of all in divinity itself.

Indeed books of common places be very necessary to induce a man into an orderly general knowledge, how to refer orderly all that he readeth, *ad certa rerum capita*, and not wander in study. And to that end did Pet. Lombardus, the master of sentences, and Phil. Melancthon in our days, write two notable books of cōmmon places.

But to dwell in *Epitomes*, and books of common places, and not to bind himself daily by orderly study, to read with all diligence principally the holiest Scripture, and withal the best doctors, and so to learn to make true difference betwixt the authority of the one and the counsel of the other, maketh so many seeming and sun-burnt ministers as we have; whose learning is gotten in a summer heat, and washed away with a Christmas snow again. Who, nevertheless, are less to be blamed, than those blind buzzards, who in late years, of wilful maliciousness, would neither learn themselves, nor could teach others any thing at all.

Paraphrasis hath done less hurt to learning than *Epitome*. For no *Paraphrasis*, though there be many, shall ever take away David's Psalter. Erasmus's *Paraphrasis*, being never so good, shall never banish the New Testament. And in another school, the *Paraphrasis* of Brocardus, or Sambucus, shall never

likewise: to which titles Mr. Ascham alludes in the next words, "and other like vulgars for making of Latins."

take Aristotle's Rhetorick, nor Horace *de Arte Poetica*, out of learned men's hands.

But as concerning a school *Epitome*, he that would have an example of it, let him read * Lucian περὶ κάλλους, which is the very *Epitome* of Isocrates' Oration *de Laudibus Helenæ*: whereby he may learn, at the least, this wise lesson; "That a man ought to beware to be over bold in altering an excellent man's work."

Nevertheless, some kind of *Epitome* may be used by men of skilful judgment, to the great profit also of others. As if a wise man would take † Hall's Chronicle, where much good matter is quite marred with indenture English: and first, change strange and inkhorn terms into proper and commonly used words; next, specially to weed out that that is superfluous and idle, not only where words be vainly heaped one upon another, but also where many sentences of one meaning be so clouted up together, as though Mr. Hall had been not writing the story of England, but varying a sentence in Hitching school. Surely a wise learned man by this way of *Epitome*, in cutting away words and sentences, and diminishing nothing at all of the matter, should leave to men's use a story, half as much as it was in quantity, but twice as good as it was, both for pleasure and also commodity.

Another kind of *Epitome* may be used likewise very

* What treatise of Lucian's we are here directed to, I cannot tell, unless it is his Εἰκόνες, where Panthea, the Smyrna beauty, is described with so much ostentation of wit and learning.

† Mr. Edw. Hall was counsellor in the law, and writ his Chronicle of the union of the two houses of York and Lancaster in the time of Edward the Sixth.

well to much profit. Some man, either by lustiness of nature, or brought by ill teaching to a wrong judgment, is over-full of words and sentences and matter: and yet all his words be proper, apt, and well chosen; all his sentences be round and trimly framed; his whole matter grounded upon good reason, and stuffed with full arguments for his intent and purpose: yet, when his talk shall be heard, or his writing be read of such one, as is either of my two dearest friends, Mr. Haddon at home, or John Sturmius in Germany: that *nimium* in him, which fools and unlearned will most commend, shall either of these two bite his lip or shake his head at it.

This fulness, as it is not to be misliked * in a young man, so in further age, in greater skill, and weightier affairs, it is to be temperated, or else discretion and judgment shall seem to be wanting in him. But if his style be still over-rank and lusty; as some men being never so old, and spent by years, will still be

* This fulness and exuberancy is what both Tully and Quintilian desire in youth. "Audeat hæc ætas plura, et inveniat, et inventis gaudeat, sint licet illa non satis interim sicca et severa. Facile remedium est ubertatis, sterilia nullo labore vincuntur. Illa mihi in pueris natura minimum spei dabit, in qua ingenium judicio præsumitur. Materiam esse primum volo vel abundantiorem, atque ultra quam oporteat fusam.———Quod me de his ætatibus sentire minus mirabitur, qui apud Ciceronem legerit, 'Volo enim se efferat in adolescente fœcunditas.'" Quint. de Inst. Orat. Lib. 2.

This sentence is taken by Quintilian out of Tully's second book *de Oratore*. "Volo enim se efferat in adolescente fœcunditas. Nam facilius, sicut in vitibus, revocantur ea, quæ sese nimium profuderunt, quam si nihil valet materies, nova sarmenta cultura excitantur: ita volo esse in adolescente, unde aliquid amputem. Non enim potest in eo esse succus diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter est maturitatem assequutum."

full of youthful conditions (as was Sir Francis Brian, and evermore would have been); such a rank and full writer must use, if he will do wisely, the exercise of a very good kind of *Epitome*, and do, as certain wise men do, that be over-fat and fleshy; who, leaving their own full and plentiful table, go to sojourn abroad from home for a while, at the temperate diet of some sober man; and so by little and little, cut away the grossness that is in them. As for an example: If Osorius would leave off his lustiness in striving against St. Austin, and his over-rank railing against poor Luther, and the truth of God's doctrine; and give his whole study, not to write any thing of his own for a while, but to translate Demosthenes with so strait, fast, and temperate a style in Latin, as he is in Greek; he would become so perfect and pure a writer, I believe, as hath been few or none since Cicero's days; and so by doing himself and all learned men much good, do others less harm, and Christ's doctrine less injury than he doth; and withal, win unto himself many worthy friends, who agreeing with him gladly in the love and liking of excellent learning, are sorry to see so worthy a wit, so rare eloquence, wholly spent and consumed in striving with God and good men.

Amongst the rest, no man doth lament him more than I; not only for the excellent learning that I see in him, but also because there hath passed privately betwixt him and me, sure tokens of much good will and friendly opinion, the one toward the other. And surely the distance betwixt London and Lisbon should not stop any kind of friendly duty that I could either show to him or do to his, if the greatest matter of all did not in certain points separate our minds.

And yet for my part, both toward him and divers

others here at home, for like cause of excellent learning, great wisdom, and gentle humanity, which I have seen in them, and felt at their hands myself, where the matter of difference is mere conscience in a quiet mind inwardly, and not contentious malice with spiteful railing openly, I can be content to follow this rule, in misliking some one thing, not to hate for any thing else.

But as for all the bloody beasts, as that fat boar of the wood, or those brawling bulls of Basan, or any lurking dormouse, blind not by nature, but by malice; and, as may be gathered of their own testimony, given over to blindness, for giving over God and his word: or such as be so lusty runagates, as first run from God and his true doctrine, then from their lords, masters, and all duty; next, from themselves, and out of their wits; lastly, from their prince, country, and all due allegiance; whether they ought rather to be pitied of good men for their misery, or contemned of wise men for their malicious folly, let good and wise men determine.

And to return to *Epitome* again. Some will judge much boldness in me, thus to judge of Osorius's style: but wise men do know, that mean lookers-on may truly say, for a well made picture, "This face had been more comely, if that high red in the cheek were somewhat more pure sanguine than it is;" and yet the stander-by cannot amend it himself by any way.

And this is not written to the dispraise, but to the great commendation of Osorius: because Tully himself had the same fulness in him, and therefore went to Rhodes to cut it away; * and saith himself, *Recepi*

* Hear again we have only part of a sentence (as it came into our author's memory) taken out of Tully *de claris Ora-*

me domum prope mutatus, nam quasi referverat jam oratio. Which was brought to pass, I believe, not only by the teaching of Molo Apollonius, but also by a good way of *Epitome*, in binding himself to translate *meros Atticos oratores*, and so to bring his style from all low grossness to such firm fastness in Latin, as is in Demosthenes in Greek. And this, to be most true, may easily be gathered, * not only of L. Crassus's talk in *I. de Orat.* but specially of Cicero's own deed † in

toribus, p. 170, near the end. I shall transcribe the whole, since it will bring some light to the argument in hand.

"Quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni, meque ad eundem, quem Romæ audiveram, Molonem applicavi, quum actorem in veris causis, scriptoremque præstantem, tum in notandis animadvertendisque vitiis, et instituendo docendoque prudentissimum. Is dedit operam (si modo id consequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes nos, et superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia, reprimeret, et quasi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me biennio post non modo exercitatior, sed prope mutatus. Nam et contentio nimia vocis reciderat, et quasi referverat oratio, lateribusque vires, et corporis mediocris habitus accesserat." Cic. Brut. c. 91, § 316.

* See Crassus's words, cited in the notes, p. 196.

† Though it is certain enough that Tully did translate these two Orations; yet I am apt to think, from his own words, that he did it rather as an example to encourage young students to take pains that way, than with any design to improve himself; his own style much earlier being brought to its full perfection.

"Sed quum in eo magnus error esset, quale esset id dicendi genus; putavi mihi suscipiendum laborem, utilem studiosis, mihi quidem ipsi non necessarium. Converti enim ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter se contrarias, Æschinis Demosthenisque: nec converti, ut interpres, sed ut orator, sententiis iisdem, et earum formis, tanquam figuris, verbis ad nostrum consuetudinem aptis: in quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium

translating Demosthenes' and Æschines' Orations περὶ στεφάνου to that very end and purpose.

And although a man groundly learned already, may take much profit himself in using by *Epitome* to draw other men's works for his own memory sake into shorter room (as Canterus hath done very well the whole Metamorphosis of Ovid, and David Chythræus a great deal better the Nine Muses of Herodotus, and Melancthon in mine opinion, far best of all, the whole story of Time, not only to his own use, but to other men's profit, and his great praise), yet *Epitome* is most necessary of all in a man's own writing, as we learn of that noble poet Virgil, who (if Donatus * say true) in writing that perfect work of the Georgics, used daily, when he had written forty or fifty verses, not to cease cutting, paring, and polishing of them, till he had brought them to the number of ten or twelve.

And this exercise is not more needfully done in a great work, than wisely done in your common daily

verborum vimque servavi. Non enim ea me annumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tanquam appendere."

This opinion of mine will still appear more probable, from the last words of this introduction to these two Orations: "Erit regula, ad quam eorum dirigantur orationes, qui Attice volunt dicere."

* The passage alluded to in Virgil's Life is this: "Quum Georgica scriberet, traditur quotidie meditatos mane plurimos versus dictare solitus, ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere: non absurde carmen se ursæ more parere dicens et lambendo demum effingere."

The same is reported of our countryman Mr. Milton, whom we may justly match with Virgil; that usually every morning, as he lay in bed, he tumbled over in his thoughts the verses he had made the day before, and never ceased altering and changing of them, till he had reduced them with inimitable exactness to a far less number.

writing either of letter or other thing else; that is to say, to peruse diligently, and see and spy wisely, what is always more than needeth. For twenty to one offend more in writing too much than too little: even as twenty to one fall into sickness, rather by overmuch fulness, than by any lack or emptiness. And therefore is he always the best English physician, that best can give a purgation: that is by way of *Epitome* to cut all over-much away. And surely men's bodies be not more full of ill humours, than commonly men's minds (if they be young, lusty, proud, like and love themselves well, as most men do) be full of fancies, opinions, errors, and faults, not only in inward invention, but also in all their utterance, either by pen or talk.

And of all other men, even those that have the inventivest heads for all purposes, and roundest tongues in all matters and places (except they learn and use this good lesson of *Epitome*), commit commonly greater faults than dull, staying, silent men do. For quick inventors, and fair ready speakers, being boldened with their present ability to say more, and perchance better too, at the sudden for that present, than any other can do, use less help of diligence and study, than they ought to do; and so have in them commonly less learning, and weaker judgment for all deep considerations, than some duller heads and slower tongues have.

And therefore ready speakers generally be not the best, plainest, and wisest writers, nor yet the deepest judges in weighty affairs; because they do not tarry to weigh and judge all things as they should; but having their heads over-full of matter, be like pens over-full of ink, which will sooner blot than make any fair

letter at all. Time was, when I had experience of two ambassadors in one place; the one of a hot head to invent, and of a hasty hand to write; the other cold and staid in both: but what difference of their doings was made by wise men, is not unknown to some persons. The bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, had a quick head and a ready tongue, and yet was not the best writer in England. Cicero in Brutus* doth wisely note the same in Sergius Galba, and Q. Hortensius; who were both hot, lusty, and plain speakers; but cold, loose, and rough writers. And Tully telleth the cause why; saying, when they spake, their tongue was naturally carried with full tide and

* "Quid igitur, inquit, est causæ, Brutus, si tanta virtus in oratore Galba fuit, cur ea nulla in orationibus ejus appareat?" To this question of Brutus, amongst other things, Tully makes this reply:

"Nec enim est eadem, inquam, Brute, causa non scribendi, et non tam bene scribendi, quam dixerint. Nam videmus alios oratores inertia nihil scripsisse, ne domesticus etiam labor accederet ad forensem, pleræque enim scribuntur orationes habitæ jam, non ut habeantur. —— —— alios, quod melius putent dicere se posse, quam scribere: 'quod peringeniosis hominibus, neque satis doctis, plerumque contigit, ut ipsi Galbæ.

"Quem fortasse vis non ingenii solum, sed etiam animi, et naturalis quidam dolor dicentem incendebat, efficiebatque, ut et incitata, et gravis, et vehemens esset oratio: dein quum otiosus stilum prehenderat, motusque omnis animi, tanquam ventus, hominem defecerat, flaccescebat oratio: quod iis, qui limatius dicendi consectantur genus, accidere non solet, propterea quod prudentia nunquam deficit oratorem, qua ille utens eodem modo possit et dicere et scribere. Ardor animi non semper adest, isque quum consedit, omnis illa vis, et quasi flamma oratoris extinguitur. Hanc igitur ob causam videtur Lælii mens spirare etiam in scriptis, Galbæ autem vis occidisse." Cic. Brut. c. 23, *seq.* § 91 *seq.*; Orat. c. 38, § 132.

wind of their wit; when they wrote, their head was solitary, dull, and calm; and so their style was blunt, and their writing cold: *Quod vitium*, saith Cicero, *peringeniosis hominibus, neque satis doctis plerumque accidit.**

And therefore all quick inventors and ready fair speakers must be careful, that to their goodness of nature they add also in any wise study, labour, leisure, learning, and judgment; and then they shall indeed pass all other (as I know some do, in whom all those qualities are fully planted), or else if they give overmuch to their wit, and over-little to their labour and learning, they will soonest over-reach in talk, and farthest come behind in writing, whatsoever they take in hand. The method of *Epitome* is most necessary for such kind of men. And thus much concerning the use or misuse of all kind of *Epitomes* in matters of learning.

IMITATIO.

Imitation is a faculty to express lively and perfectly that example which ye go about to follow. And of itself it is large and wide; for all the works of nature, in a manner, be examples for art to follow.

But to our purpose: All languages, both learned and mother tongues, be gotten, and gotten only by Imitation. For as ye use to hear, so ye learn to speak; if ye hear no other, ye speak not yourself; and whom ye only hear, of them ye only learn.

And therefore, if ye would speak as the best and wisest do, ye must be conversant where the best and wisest are: but if you be born or brought up in a rude country, ye shall not choose but speak rudely. The rudest man of all knoweth this to be true.

* Cic. Brut. c. 24, § 92.

Yet, nevertheless, the rudeness of common and mother tongues is no bar for wise speaking. For in the rudest country, and most barbarous mother language, many be found that can speak very wisely: but in the Greek and Latin tongue, the only two learned tongues which be kept not in common talk but in private books, we find always wisdom and eloquence, good matter and good utterance, never or seldom asunder. For all such authors as be fullest of good matter, and right judgment in doctrine, be likewise always most proper in words, most apt in sentence, most plain and pure in uttering the same.

And contrariwise, in those two tongues, all writers, either in religion or any sect of philosophy, whosoever be found fond in judgment of matter, be commonly found as rude in uttering their minds. For Stoics, Anabaptists, and friars, with epicures, libertines, and monks, being most like in learning and life, are no fonder and pernicious in their opinions, than they be rude and barbarous in their writings. They be not wise therefore, that say, "What care I for man's words and utterance, if his matter and reasons be good?" Such men say so, not so much of ignorance, as either of some singular pride in themselves, or some special malice of others, or for some private and partial matter, either in religion or other kind of learning. For good and choice meats be no more requisite for healthy bodies, than proper and apt words be for good matters, and also plain and sensible utterance for the best and deepest reasons: "In which two points standeth perfect eloquence, one of the fairest and rarest gifts that God doth give to man."

Ye know not what hurt ye do to learning, that care not for words, but for matter; and so make a divorce

betwixt the tongue and the heart. For mark all ages, look upon the whole course of both the Greek and Latin tongues, and ye shall surely find, that, when apt and good words began to be neglected, and properties of those two tongues to be confounded, then also began ill deeds to spring; strange manners to oppress good orders; new and fond opinions to strive with old and true doctrine, first in philosophy, and after in religion; right judgment of all things to be perverted, and so virtue with learning is contemned, and study left off. Of ill thoughts cometh perverse judgment; of ill deeds springeth lewd talk. Which four misorders, as they mar man's life, so destroy they good learning withal.

But behold the goodness of God's providence for learning: All old authors and sects of philosophy, which were fondest in opinion and rudest in utterance, as Stoics and Epicures, first contemned of wise men, and after forgotten of all men, be* so consumed by

* This remark of Mr. Ascham's must necessarily be restrained and limited to the Grecian writers, and to those only who flourished when their language was brought to its greatest perfection. For Antoninus in the Greek tongue, and Lucretius and Seneca in the Latin (authors that justly deserve our notice), are still perfect and entire. But that these sects were most remarkably careless in their style and language, is plain enough from the constant testimony of all the ancients who have had occasion to mention these things.

Thus Dionysius Halicarn. of the Stoics, in his book *περὶ Συνθέσεως*, p. 40, *Ἀπόχρη δὲ τεκμηρίῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ Χρυσίππου τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ· περαιτέρω γὰρ οὐκ ἂν προβαίην· τούτου γὰρ οὔτε ἄμεινον οὐδεὶς τὰς Διαλεκτικὰς τέχνας ἠκρίβωσεν, οὔτε χείρονι ἁρμονίᾳ συνταχθέντας ἐξήνεγκε λόγους, τῶν ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης ἀξιωθέντων.* And afterwards in the same excellent treatise, with respect to the Epicurean tribe; *Ἐπικουρείων δὲ χορὸν, οἷς οὐδὲν μέλει τούτων, παραιτούμεθα.*

times, as they be now not only out of use, but also out of memory of man. Which thing I surely think will shortly chance to the whole doctrine, and all the books of fantastical Anabaptists and friars, and of the beastly libertines and monks.

Again: Behold on the other side, how God's wisdom hath wrought, that of the Academici and Peripatetici, those that were wisest in judgment of matters, and purest in uttering their minds, the first and chiefest, that wrote most and best in either tongue (as Plato and Aristotle in Greek, Tully in Latin), be so either wholly or sufficiently left unto us, as I never knew yet scholar, that gave himself to like and love and follow chiefly those three authors, but he proved both learned, wise, and also an honest man; if he joined withal the true doctrine of God's holy Bible, without the which, the other three be but fine edge tools in a fool's or madman's hand.

But to return to Imitation again: There be three kinds of it in matters of learning,

The whole doctrine of comedies and tragedies is a perfect Imitation, or fair lively painted picture of the life of every degree of man. Of this Imitation writeth Plato at large, in *III. de Republica;* but it doth not much belong at this time to our purpose.

The second kind of Imitation, is to follow, for learning of tongues and sciences, the best authors. Here riseth amongst proud and envious wits a great controversy: whether one, or many, are to be followed; and if one, who is that one; Seneca, Cicero, Sallust, or Cæsar, and so forth, in Greek and Latin.

The third kind of Imitation belongeth to the second; as, when you be determined whether you will follow one or more, to know perfectly, and which way,

to follow that one; in what place, by what mean and order; by what tools and instruments ye shall do it; by what skill and judgment ye shall truly discern whether ye follow rightly or no.

This *Imitatio* is *dissimilis materiei similis tractatio;* and also, *similis materiei dissimilis tractatio:* as Virgil followed Homer: but the argument to the one was Ulysses; to the other, Æneas. Tully persecuted Antony with the same weapons of eloquence that Demosthenes used before against Philip.

Horace followeth Pindar, but either of them his own argument and person: as the one, Hiero king of Sicily; the other, Augustus the emperor: and yet both for like respects, that is, for their courageous stoutness in war, and just government in peace.

One of the best arguments for right Imitation, we lack, and that is Menander; whom our Terence (as the matter required), in like argument, in the same persons, with equal eloquence, foot by foot did follow.

Some pieces* remain, like broken jewels, whereby men may rightly esteem and justly lament the loss of the whole.

Erasmus, the ornament of learning in our time, doth wish that some man of learning and diligence would take the like pains in Demosthenes and Tully, that Macrobius hath done in Homer and Virgil: that

* A collection of these remains have been lately published, together with those of Philemon, by M. Le Clerc. But he doth not seem (as far as I can judge by a cursory view) to have been jeweller good enough to understand their true worth and value. For otherwise certainly he would have taken greater pains, and have shown more skill, in setting these little pieces in such a lustre and brightness as they deserved. "Olim rediissent ad splendorem maximum."

is, to write out and join together, where the one doth imitate the other. Erasmus's wish is good; but surely it is not good enough. For Macrobius' gatherings for the Æneis out of Homer, and Eobanus Hessus' more diligent gatherings for the Bucolics out of Theocritus, as they be not fully taken out of the whole heap, as they should be, but even as though they had not sought for them of purpose, but found them scattered here and there by chance in their way; even so, only to point out, and nakedly to join together their sentences, with no further declaring the manner and way how the one doth follow the other, were but a cold help to the increase of learning.

But if a man would take this pain also, when he hath laid two places, of Homer and Virgil, or of Demosthenes and Tully together, to teach plainly withal after this sort:

1. Tully retaineth thus much of the matter, these sentences, these words.

2. This and that he leaveth out; which he doth wittily, to this end and purpose.

3. This he addeth here.

4. This he diminisheth there.

5. This he ordereth thus, with placing that here, not there.

6. This he altereth and changeth, either in property of words, in form of sentence, in substance of the matter, or in one or other convenient circumstance of the author's present purpose.

In these few rude English words, are wrapt up all the necessary tools and instruments, wherewith true Imitation is rightly wrought withal in any tongue: which tools, I openly confess, be not of mine own forging, but partly left unto me by the cunningest

master, and one of the worthiest gentlemen, that ever England bred, Sir John Cheke: partly borrowed by me out of the shop of the dearest friend I have out of England, Joh. Sturmius. And therefore I am the bolder to borrow of him, and here to leave them to other, and namely to my children. Which tools, if it please God that another day they may be able to use rightly, as I do wish and daily pray they may do, I shall be more glad than if I were able to leave them a great quantity of land.

This foresaid order and doctrine of Imitation, would bring forth more learning and breed up truer judgment, than any other exercise that can be used; but not for young beginners, because they shall not be able to consider duly thereof. And truly it may be a shame to good students, who having so fair examples to follow as Plato and Tully, do not use so wise ways in following them for the obtaining of wisdom and learning, as rude ignorant artificers do for gaining a small commodity. For surely the meanest painter useth more wit, better art, greater diligence in his shop in following the picture of any mean man's face, than commonly the best students do even in the university for the attaining of learning itself.

Some ignorant, unlearned, and idle student; or some busy looker upon this little poor book, that hath neither will to do good himself, nor skill to judge right of others, but can lustily contemn, by pride and ignorance, all painful diligence and right order in study; will perchance say, that I am too precise; too curious in marking and piddling thus about the Imitation of others; and that the old and worthy authors did never busy their heads and wits, in following so precisely either the matter, what other men wrote, or

else the manner, how other men wrote. They will say, it were a plain slavery, and injury too, to shackle and tie a good wit, and hinder the course of a man's good nature with such bonds of servitude in following others. Except such men think themselves wiser than Cicero for teaching of eloquence, they must be content to turn a new leaf.

The best book that ever Tully wrote, by all men's judgment, and by his own testimony too, in writing whereof he employed most care, study, learning, and judgment, is his book *de Oratore ad Q. Fratrem.* Now let us see what he did for the matter, and also for the manner of writing thereof. For the whole book consisteth in these two points only; in good matter, and good handling of the matter. And first, for the matter; it is whole Aristotle's, whatsoever Antony in the second, and Crassus in the third, doth teach. Trust not me, but believe Tully himself, who writeth so: first, in that * goodly long epistle *ad Pub. Lentulum;* and after in divers places *ad Atticum.* And in the very book itself, Tully will not have it hidden; but both Catulus and Crassus do oft and pleasantly lay that stealth to Antonius's charge. Now, for the handling of the matter; was Tully so precise and cu-

* "Quod rogas, ut mea tibi scripta mittam, quæ post discessum tuum scripserim: sunt orationes quædam, quas Menocrito dabo: neque ita multæ; ne pertimescas. Scripsi etiam (nam ab orationibus disjungo me fere, referoque ad mansuetiores Musas; quæ me maxime, sicut jam a prima adolescentia delectarunt), scripsi igitur Aristoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatione ac dialogo de Oratore, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo non fore inutiles. Abhorrent enim a communibus præceptis; ac omnem antiquorum, et Aristoteleam, et Isocrateam rationem oratoriam complectuntur." Epist. Fam. Lib. 1, Ep. 9.

rious, rather to follow another man's pattern than to invent some new shape himself, namely in that book wherein he purposed to leave to posterity the glory of his wit? Yea forsooth, that he did. And this is not my guessing and gathering; nor only performed by Tully in very deed, but uttered also by Tully in plain words; to teach other men thereby, what they should do in taking like matter in hand.

And that which is specially to be marked, Tully doth utter plainly his conceit and purpose therein, by the mouth of the wiseth man in all that company: for * saith Scævola himself, *Cur non imitamur, Crasse, Socratem illum, qui est in Phædro Platonis?* &c.

And further to understand, that Tully did not *obiter* and by chance, but purposely and mindfully, bend himself to a precise and curious imitation of Plato, concerning the shape and form of those books; mark, I pray you, how curious Tully is to utter his purpose and doing therein, writing † thus to Atticus:

"Quod in iis Oratoriis libris, quos laudas, personam desideras Scævolæ; non eam temere dimovi; sed feci idem, quod in Πολιτείᾳ deus ille noster Plato. Quum in Piræeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum, locupletem et festivum senem; quoad primus ille sermo haberetur, adest in disputando senex: deinde quum ipse quoque commodissime loquutus esset, ad rem divinam dicit se velle discedere; neque postea revertitur. Credo Platonem vix putasse satis consonum fore, si hominem id

* "Postero autem die, quum illi majores natu satis quiessent, et in ambulationem ventum esset, dicebat tum Scævolam duobus spatiis tribusve factis, dixisse, Cur non imitamur," &c. De Orat. lib. 1, c. 7, § 28.

† This citation is taken out of Tully's fourth book of Epistles to Atticus, Ep. 16.

ætatis in tam longo sermone diutius retinuisset. Multo ego satius hoc mihi cavendum putavi in Scævola: qui et ætate, et valitudine erat ea, qua esse meministi; et iis honoribus, ut vix satis decorum videretur, eum plures dies esse in Crassi Tusculano. Et erat primi libri sermo non alienus a Scævolæ studiis: reliqui libri Τεχνολογίαν habent, ut scis. Huic joculatoriæ disputationi senem illum, ut noras, interesse sane nolui."

If Cicero had not opened himself, and declared his own thought and doings herein, men that be idle and ignorant, and envious of other men's diligence and well doings, would have sworn that Tully had never minded any such thing; but that of a precise curiosity we feign and forge, and father such things of Tully as he never meant indeed. I write this not for nought; for I have heard some, both well learned, and otherwise very wise, that by their lusty misliking of such diligence, have drawn back the forwardness of very good wits. But even as such men themselves do sometimes stumble upon doing well by chance, and benefit of good wit, so would I have our scholar always able to do well by order of learning and right skill of judgment.

Concerning Imitation, many learned men have written with much diversity for the matter, and therefore with great contrariety and some stomach amongst themselves. I have read as many as I could get, diligently; and what I think of every one of them, I will freely say my mind. With which freedom I trust good men will bear, because it shall tend to neither spiteful nor harmful controversy.

In Tully it is well touched, shortly taught,* not

* "Ergo hoc sit primum in præceptis meis, ut demonstremus, quem imitetur; atque ita, ut, quæ maxime excellant in

fully declared by Antonius in *II. de Oratōre;* and afterward in *Oratore ad Brutum,* for the liking and misliking of Isocrates; and the contrary judgment of Tully against Calvus, Brutus, and Calidius, *de genere dicendi Attico et Asiatico.*

Dionysius Halicarnassæus *περὶ Μιμήσεως** I fear, is lost; which author, next Aristotle, Plato, and Tully, of all others that write of eloquence, by the judgment of them that be best learned, deserveth the next praise and place.

eoquem imitabitur, ea diligentissime persequatur: tum accedat exercitatio, qua illum, quem ante delegerit, imitando effingat, atque ita exprimat, non ut multos imitatores sæpe cognovi, qui aut ea, quæ facilia sunt, aut etiam illa, quæ insignia, ac pene vitiosa consectantur imitando." De Orat. lib. 2, p. 109.

"Atticos, inquit, volo imitari: quos? nec enim est unum genus. Nam quid est tam dissimile, quam Demosthenes et Lysias? quam idem et Hyperides? quam omnium horum Æschines? Quem igitur imitaris? Si aliquem, cæteri ergo Attice non dicebant, si omnes; qui potes, quum sint ipsi dissimillimi inter se?" Cic. de claris Orat. p. 167.

* This book of Imitation Dionysius divided into three parts: the first contained the whole question concerning Imitation; the second, what authors in poetry, philosophy, history, and oratory, were to be imitated; the third, how this Imitation was to be performed: which last book, he tells us, he had not finished at the time he gives us this account of it.

Dionysius's words are these, though corrupt enough, in his Epistle to Cn. Pompey, p. 206, of the learned Dr. Hudson's edition. I shall cite them as I think they ought to be read. *Πεποίηκα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Δημήτριον ὑπομνηματισμοῖς περὶ Μιμήσεως. Τούτων ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτὴν περιείληψε τὴν περὶ τῆς μιμήσεως ζήτησιν· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, περὶ τοῦ, τίνας ἄνδρας μιμεῖσθαι δεῖ, ποιητάς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, ἱστοριογράφους καὶ ῥήτορας· ὁ δὲ τρίτος, περὶ τοῦ, πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι ἐστὶ δὲ οὗτος ἀτελής.*

Quintilian * writeth of it shortly, and coldly for the matter, yet hotly and spitefully enough against the imitation of Tully.

Erasmus, being more occupied in spying other men's faults than declaring his own advice, is mistaken of many, to the great hurt of study, for his authority's sake. For he writeth rightly, rightly understanded :† he and Longolius only differing in this, that the one

* "Ante omnia igitur imitatio per se ipsa non sufficit; vel quia pigri est ingenii, contentum esse iis quæ sunt ab aliis inventa. Quid enim futurum erat temporibus illis, quæ sine exemplo fuerunt, si homines nihil nisi quod jam cognovissent, faciendum sibi aut cogitandum putassent? nempe nihil fuisset inventum —— ——,

"Itaque ne hoc quidem sauserim, uni ce alicui proprie, quem per omnia sequatur, addicere. Longe perfectissimus Græcorum Demosthenes, aliquid tamen aliquo in loco melius alii. Plurima ille: sed non qui maxime imitandus, etiam solus imitandus est. Quid ergo? non est satis omnia sic dicere, quomodo Marcus Tullius dixit? Mihi quidem satis esset, si omnia consequi possem. Quid tamen nocet, vim Cæsaris, asperitatem Cælii, diligentiam Pollionis, judicium Calvi, quibusdam in locis assumere?" Quint. de Inst. Orat. lib. 10.

† Erasmus, in his Epistles, frequently mentions Longolius, who was a Hollander by birth, and one who in his writings applied himself, with the utmost care and industry, to the imitation of Tully. "Quid hic commemorem Longolium, qui totus in hoc incubuit, ut Ciceronem exprimeret, nec infeliciter cessit conatus?" Lib. 27, Ep. 38.

Of the difference that happened betwixt himself and Longolius, Erasmus gives us some account in his letter to Alciatus. Lib. 21, Ep. 38; wherein he has this severe remark upon those slavish imitators, the Ciceronianists of that age:—

"Exorta est nova secta *Ciceronianorum* quæ mihi videtur non minus fervere istic, quam apud nos Lutheranorum. Posthac non licebit Episcopos appellare *Patres reverendos*, nec in calce literarum scribere *annum a Christo nato*, quod id nusquam faciat Cicero. Quid autem ineptius, quam toto seculo novato, religione, imperiis, magistratibus, locorum vocabulis,

seemeth to give over-much, the other over-little, to him whom they both best loved, and chiefly allowed of all others.

Budæus in his commentaries roughly and obscurely, after his kind of writing; and for the matter, carried somewhat out of the way in over-much misliking the imitation of Tully.

Philip Melancthon, learnedly and truly.

Joach. Camerarius, largely with a learned judgment, but somewhat confusedly, and with over rough a style.

Sambucus, largely, with a right judgment, but somewhat a crooked style.

Other have written also, as Cortesius to Politian, and that very well; Bembus *ad Picum*, a great deal better; but Joan. Sturmius, *de Nobilitate literata, et de Amissa dicendi Ratione*, far best of all, in mine opinion, that ever took this matter in hand. For all the rest declare chiefly this point, whether one, or many, or all, are to be followed: but Sturmius only hath most learnedly declared, who is to be followed; what is to be followed; and the best point of all, by what way and order true Imitation is rightly to be exercised. And although Sturmius herein doth far pass all other; yet hath he not so fully and perfectly done it, as I do wish he had, and as I know he could. For though he hath done it perfectly for precept, yet hath he not done it perfectly enough for example. Which he did, neither for lack of skill, nor by negligence, but of purpose, contented with one or two examples; because he was minded in those two books

ædificiis, cultu, moribus, non aliter audere loqui, quam loquutus est Cicero? Si revivisceret ipse Cicero, rideret hoc *Ciceronianorum* genus."

to write of it both shortly, and also had to touch other matters.

Barthol. Riccius Ferrariensis also* hath written learnedly, diligently, and very largely of this matter, even as he did before very well *de Apparatu Latinæ Locutionis*. He writeth the better in mine opinion, because his whole doctrine, judgment, and order, seemeth to be borrowed out of Joan. Sturmius's books. He addeth also examples, the best kind of teaching; wherein he doth well, but not well enough: indeed he committeth no fault, but yet deserveth small praise. He is content with the mean, and followeth not the best: as a man that would† feed upon acorns, when he may eat as good cheap the finest wheat bread.

He teacheth, for example, where, and how, two or three Italian poets do follow Virgil; and how Virgil himself, in the story of Dido, doth wholly imitate Catullus in the like matter of Ariadne. Wherein I like better his diligence and order of teaching, than his judgment in choice of examples for Imitation. But if he had done thus: if he had declared where, and how, how oft, and how many ways, Virgil doth follow Homer; as for example, the coming of Ulysses to Alcinoüs and Calypso, with the coming of Æneas to Carthage and Dido: likewise the games, running, wrestling, and shooting, that Achilles maketh in Homer, with the selfsame games that Æneas maketh in Virgil: the harness of Achilles, with the harness of

* This work Riccius published under this title, *De Imitatione, Libri* 3.

† The same proverbial expression we meet with a little after in this book. The commentators seem very fond of it: "Post fruges inventas vesci glandibus:" *ἄνδρες βαλανηφάγοι.*

Æneas, and the manner of making of them both by Vulcan: the notable combat betwixt Achilles and Hector, with as notable a combat betwixt Æneas and Turnus: the going down to hell of Ulysses in Homer, with the going down to hell of Æneas in Virgil; and other places infinite more, as similitudes, narrations, messages, descriptions of persons, places, battles, tempests, shipwrecks, and common places for divers purposes, which be as precisely taken out of Homer, as ever did painter in London follow the picture of any fair personage. And when these places had been gathered together by this way of diligence, then to have conferred them together by this order of teaching, as diligently to mark what is kept and used in either author, in words, in sentences, in matter; what is added; what is left out; what ordered otherwise, either *præponendo*, *interponendo*, or *postponendo*; and what is altered for any respect, in word, phrase, sentence, figure, reason, argument, or by any way of circumstance. If Riccius had done this, he had not only been well liked for his diligence in teaching, but also justly commended for his right judgment in right choice of examples for the best Imitation.

Riccius also for Imitation of prose declareth, where and how Longolius doth follow Tully; but, as for Longolius, I would not have him the pattern of our Imitation. Indeed, in Longolius's shop be proper and fair showing colours; but as for shape, figure, and natural comeliness, by the judgment of best judging artificers, he is rather allowed as one to be borne withal, than specially commended as one chiefly to be followed.

If Riccius had taken for his examples, where Tully himself followeth either Plato or Demosthenes, he had

shot then at the right mark. But to excuse Riccius somewhat, though I cannot fully defend him, it may be said, his purpose was, to teach only the Latin tongue; when this way that I do wish, to join Virgil with Homer, to read Tully with Demosthenes and Plato, requireth a cunning and perfect master in both the tongues. It is my wish indeed, and that by good reason: for whosoever will write well of any matter, must labour to express that that is perfect; and not to stay and content himself with the mean: yea, I say farther, though it be not unpossible, yet it is very rare, and marvellous hard to prove excellent in the Latin tongue, for him that is not also well seen in the Greek tongue. Tully himself, most excellent of nature, most diligent in labour, brought up from his cradle in that place, and in that time, where and when the Latin tongue most flourished naturally in every man's mouth; yet was not his own tongue able itself to make him so cunning in his own tongue, as he was indeed; but the knowledge and Imitation of the Greek tongue withal.

This he confesseth himself; this he uttereth in many places, as those can tell best that use to read him most.

Therefore thou, that shootest at perfection in the Latin tongue, think not thyself wiser than Tully was, in choice of the way that leadeth rightly to the same: think not thy wit better than Tully's was, as though that may serve thee, that was not sufficient for him. For even as a hawk flieth not high with one wing, even so a man reacheth not to excellency with one tongue.

I have been a looker-on in the cockpit of learning these many years; and one cock only have I known, which with one wing even at this day, doth pass all

others, in mine opinion, that ever I saw in any pit in England, though they had two wings. Yet, nevertheless, to fly well with one wing, to run fast with one leg, be rather rare masteries much to be marvelled at, than sure examples safely to be followed. A bishop that now liveth, a good man, whose judgment in religion I better like, than his opinion in perfectness in other learning, said once unto me, "We have no need now of the Greek tongue, when all things be translated into Latin." But the good man understood not, that even the best translation is for mere necessity but an evil imped wing to fly withal, or a heavy stump leg of wood to go withal. Such, the higher they fly, the sooner they falter and fail: the faster they run, the ofter they stumble, and sorer they fall. Such as will needs so fly, may fly at a pie, and catch a daw; and such runners, as commonly they shove and shoulder to stand foremost; yet, in the end, they come behind others, and deserve but the hopshackles, if the masters of the game be right judgers.

Optima ratio Imitationis.

Therefore, in perusing thus so many divers books for Imitation, it came into my head that a very profitable book might be made *de Imitatione*, after another sort than ever yet was attempted of that matter, containing a certain few fit precepts, unto the which should be gathered and applied plenty of examples, out of the choicest authors of both the tongues. This work would stand rather in good diligence for the gathering, and right judgment for the apt applying of those examples, than any great learning or utterance at all.

The doing thereof would be more pleasant than painful, and would bring also much profit to all that should read it, and great praise to him that would take it in hand with just desert of thanks.

Erasmus, giving himself to read over all authors, Greek and Latin, seemeth to have prescribed to himself this order of reading; that is, to note out by the way three special points, all adages, all similitudes, and all witty sayings of most notable personages. And so, by one labour, he left to posterity three notable books, and namely two, his *Chiliades*, *Apophthegmata*, and *Similia*. Likewise, if a good student would bend himself to read diligently over Tully, and with him also at the same time as diligently Plato and Xenophon, with his books of philosophy, Isocrates, and Demosthenes with his Orations, and Aristotle with his Rhetoricks, (which five of all others be those whom Tully best loved, and specially followed,) and would mark diligently in Tully, where he doth *exprimere* or *effingere* (which be the very proper words of Imitation), either *copiam Platonis*, or *venustatem Xenophontis*, *suavitatem Isocratis*, or *vim Demosthenis*, *propriam et puram subtilitatem Aristotelis*; and not only write out the places diligently, and lay them together orderly, but also to confer them with skilful judgment by those few rules which I have expressed now twice before: if that diligence were taken, if that order were used, what perfect knowledge of both the tongues, what ready and pithy utterance in all matters, what right and deep judgment in all kind of learning would follow, is scarce credible to be believed.

Erasmus's order in his study.

These books be not many, nor long, nor rude in speech, nor mean in matter; but next the majesty of God's holy word, most worthy for a man, the lover of learning and honesty, to spend his life in. Yea, I have heard worthy Mr. Cheke many times say; I would have a good student pass and journey through

all authors both Greek and Latin. But he that will dwell in these few books only; first, in God's holy Bible, and then join with it Tully in Latin, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Demosthenes in Greek, must needs prove an excellent man.

Some men already in our days have put to their helping hands to this work of Imitation: as Perionius, Hen. Stephanus *in dictionario Ciceroniano*, and Pet. Victorius most praiseworthy of all, in that his learned work containing twenty-five books *de Varia Lectione;* in which books be joined diligently together the best authors of both the tongues, where one doth seem to imitate another.

But all these, with Macrobius, Hessus, and others, be no more but common porters, carriers, and bringers of matter and stuff together. They order nothing; they lay before you what is done; they do not teach you how it is done. They busy not themselves with form of building: they do not declare, This stuff is thus framed by Demosthenes, and thus and thus by Tully; and so likewise in Xenophon, Plato, and Isocrates, and Aristotle. For joining Virgil with Homer, I have sufficiently declared before.

The like diligence I would wish to be taken in Pindar and Horace, an equal match for all respects.

In tragedies, (the goodliest argument of all, and for the use either of a learned preacher, or a civil gentleman, more profitable than Homer, Pindar, Virgil, and Horace; yea comparable in mine opinion with the doctrine of Aristotle, Plato, and Xenophon,) the Grecians, Sophocles and Euripides, far overmatch our Seneca in Latin, namely in Οἰκονομίᾳ *et Decoro:* although Seneca's elocution and verse be very commend-

able* for his time. And for the matters of Hercules, Thebes, Hippolytus, and Troy, his Imitation is to be gathered into the same book, and to be tried by the same touchstone, as is spoken before.

In histories, and namely in Livy, the like diligence of Imitation could bring excellent learning, and breed staid judgment in taking any like matter in hand.

Only Livy were a sufficient task for one man's study, to compare him, first with his fellow for all respects, Dionysius Halicarnassæus; who both lived in one time, took both one history in hand to write, deserved both like praise of learning and eloquence: then with Polybius, that wise writer, whom Livy professeth to follow and if he would deny it, yet it is plain, that the best part of the third Decade in Livy, is in a manner translated out of the third and rest of Polybius: lastly, with Thucydides, to whose Imitation Livy is curiously bent, as may well appear by that one oration† of those of Campania, asking aid of the Romans against the Samnites, which is wholly taken, sentence, reason, argument, and order, out of the oration of Corcyra, asking like aid of the Athenians against them of Corinth. If some diligent student would take pains to

* There are many conjectures made by learned men, concerning the time when these tragedies were written, and who their author was. Mr. Ascham, by this expression, seems to bring them lower than most do. We have Erasmus's opinion in these words: "Tacitus commemorat illius (Senecæ) poemata, de quibus sentiens, incertum. Nam tragœdiarum opus eruditi quidam malunt Senecæ filio tribuere, quam huic: sunt, qui fratri Senecæ adscribant. Ex prima tragœdia versus aliquot refert, *Duc me, parens, summique dominator poli*, &c. Quanquam mihi videtur opus hoc tragœdiarum non esse unius hominis." Lib. 28, Ep. 12.

† Livy, vii, c. 30, and Thucyd. i, c. 32—36.

compare them together, he should easily perceive that I do say true.

A book thus wholly filled with examples of Imitation, first out of Tully, compared with Plato, Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Aristotle; then out of Virgil and Horace, with Homer and Pindar; next out of Seneca, with Sophocles and Euripides; lastly out of Livy, with Thucydides, Polybius, and Halicarnassæus, gathered with good diligence, and compared with right order, as I have expressed before, were another manner of work for all kind of learning, and namely for eloquence, than be those cold gatherings of Macrobius, Hessus, Perionius, Stephanus, and Victorius; which may be used (as I said before) in this case, as porters and carriers, deserving like praise, as such men do wages; but only Sturmius is he, out of whom the true survey and whole workmanship is specially to be learned.

Opus de recta imitandi ratione.

I trust, this my writing shall give some good student occasion to take * some piece in hand of this work of Imitation. And as I had rather have any do it than myself, yet surely myself rather than none at all. And by God's grace, if God do lend me life, with health, free leisure and liberty, with good liking and a merry heart, I will turn the best part of my study and time to toil in one or other piece of this work of Imitation.

* Something of this nature has since been done by Jacobus Tollius, in his *Gustus Criticarum Animadversionum ad Longinum;* where he has with good judgment compared Pindar with Horace, Theocritus with Virgil, and Apollonius with Ovid; and some few more beside. But had Mr. Ascham lived, we should certainly have seen a far more excellent performance.

This diligence to gather examples, to give light and understanding to good precepts, is no new invention, but specially used of the best authors and oldest writers. For Aristotle himself, (as Diogenes Laertius declareth,) when he had written that goodly book of the Topics, did gather out of stories and orators so many examples as filled fifteen books, only to express the rules of his Topics. These were the commentaries that Aristotle thought fit for his Topics. And therefore, to speak as I think, I never saw yet any commentary upon Aristotle's Logic, either in Greek or Latin, that ever I liked; because they be rather spent in declaring school-point rules, than in gathering fit examples for use and utterance either by pen or talk. For precepts in all authors, and namely in Aristotle, without applying unto them the imitation of examples, be hard, dry, and cold, and therefore barren, unfruitful, and unpleasant. But Aristotle, namely in his Topics and Elenches, should be not only fruitful, but also pleasant too, if examples out of Plato, and other good authors, were diligently gathered and aptly applied unto his most perfect precepts there.

Commentarii Græci et Latini in dialectica Aristotelis.

And it is notable, that my friend Sturmius writeth herein, that there is no precept in Aristotle's Topics, whereof plenty of examples be not manifest in Plato's works. And I hear say, that an excellent learned man, Tomitanus in Italy, hath expressed every fallacy in Aristotle, with divers examples out of Plato. Would to God I might once see some worthy student of Aristotle and Plato in Cambridge, that would join in one book the precepts of the one with the examples of the other. For such a labour were one special piece of that work of Imita-

Præcepta in Aristot. Exempla in Platone.

tion, which I do wish were gathered together in one volume.

Cambridge, at my first coming thither, but not at my going away, committed this fault in reading the precepts of Aristotle without the examples of other authors. But herein, in my time,* these men of worthy memory, Mr. Redman, Mr. Cheke, Mr. Smith, Mr. Haddon, Mr. Watson, put so to their helping hands, as that university, and all students there, as long as learning shall last, shall be bound unto them, if that trade in study be truly followed which those men left behind them there.

By this small mention of Cambridge I am carried into three imaginations: first, into a sweet remembrance of my time spent there; then, into some careful thoughts for the grievous alteration that followed soon after; lastly, into much joy, to hear tell of the good recovery and earnest forwardness in all good learning there again.

* "Eo tempore Cantabrigiam venit, quo literæ et Græcæ et Latinæ efflorescere, et præclara studia in ea Academia herbescere, et ad summum hujus regni ornamentum maturescere cœperunt. Ea ætate postea floruit, qua Georgius Daius, Joan. Redmanus, Rob. Pemberus, Tho. Smithus, Joan. Checus, Nic. Ridlæus, Edm. Grindallus, Tho. Watsonus, Gualterus Haddonus, Jacob. Pilkintonus, R. Hornus, Joan. Christophersonus, Tho. Wilsonus, Joan. Setonus, et infiniti alii excellenti doctrina prædiți, et perspecta vitæ morumque probitate ornati, magna Academiæ eo tempore lumina, maxima postea totius reipublicæ ornamenta, viguerunt.

"Hi enim, et ex his præcipue Thomas Smithus, Academiæ splendor, et Joannes Checus, Cantabrigiæ decus, suo exemplo, eruditione, diligentia, constantia, consilio, non studendi solum, sed recte vivendi ordine, ad præclara studia omnes adduxerunt et concitarunt, qui ab eo tempore ad hunc usque diem in Cantabrigia succreverunt, et ad eminentem aliquam doctrinam surrexerunt." Edv. Grant.

To utter these my thoughts somewhat more largely, were somewhat beside my matter, yet not very far out of the way; because it shall wholly tend to the good encouragement and right consideration of learning, which is my full purpose in writing this little book: whereby also shall well appear this sentence to be most true, "That only good men, by their government and example, make happy times in every degree and state."

Doctor Nicholas Medcalfe, that honourable father, was master of St. John's College when I came thither; a man meanly learned himself, but not meanly affectioned to set forward learning in others. He found that college spending scarce two hundred marks by year; he left it spending a thousand marks and more. Which he procured not with his money, but by his wisdom; not chargeably bought by him, but liberally given by others by his means, for the zeal and honour they bare to learning. And that which is worthy of memory, all these givers were almost northern men; who, being liberally rewarded in the service of their prince, bestowed it as liberally for the good of their country. Some men thought therefore, that Dr. Medcalfe was partial to northern men; but sure I am of this, that northern men were partial in doing more good, and giving more lands to the furtherance of learning, than any other country men in those days did; which deed should have been rather an example of goodness for other to follow, than matter of malice for any to envy, as some there were that did.

The partiality of northern men in St. John's College.

Truly Dr. Medcalfe was partial to none, but indifferent to all; a master for the whole, a father to every one in that college. There was none so poor, if he

had either will to goodness, or wit to learning, that could lack being there, or should depart from thence for any need. I am witness myself, that money many times was brought into young men's studies by strangers, whom they knew not. In which doing, this worthy Nicolaus followed the steps of good old St. Nicolaus, that learned bishop. He was a Papist indeed; but would to God, among all us Protestants, I might once see but one that would win like praise, in doing like good, for the advancement of learning and virtue. And yet, though he were a Papist, if any young man, given to new learning (as they termed it), went beyond his fellows, in wit, labour, and towardness; even the same neither lacked open praise to encourage him, nor private exhibition to maintain him; as worthy Sir John Cheke, if he were alive, would bear good witness, and so can many more. I myself, one of the meanest of a great number in that college, because there appeared in me some small show of towardness and diligence, lacked not his favour to further me in learning.

And being a boy, new bachelor of arts, I chanced among my companions to speak against the Pope; which matter was then in every man's mouth, because Dr. Hains and Dr. Skip were come from the court, to debate the same matter by preaching and disputation in the university. This happened the same time when I stood to be fellow there. My talk came to Dr. Medcalfe's ear: I was called before him and the seniors; and after grievous rebuke, and some punishment, open warning was given to all the fellows, none to be so hardy as to give me his voice at that election. And yet for all those open threats, the good father himself privily procured that I should even then be chosen

fellow: but the election being done, he made countenance of great discontentation thereat. This man's goodness, and fatherly discretion used towards me that one day, shall never out of my remembrance all the days of my life. And for the same cause have I put it here in this small record of learning. For next God's providence, surely that day was, by that good father's means, *dies natalis* to me, for the whole foundation of the poor learning I have, and of all the furtherance that hitherto elsewhere I have obtained.

This his goodness stood not still in one or two, but flowed abundantly over all that college, and brake out also to nourish good wits in every part of that university: whereby, at his departing thence, he left such a company of fellows and scholars in St. John's College, as can scarce be found now in some whole university: which, either for divinity, on the one side or other, or for civil service to their prince and country, have been, and are yet to this day, notable ornaments to this whole realm. Yea, St. John's did then so flourish, as Trinity College, that princely house now, at the first erection was but *colonia deducta* out of St. John's, not only for their master, fellows, and scholars, but also (which is more) for their whole both order of learning and discipline of manners. And yet to this day, it never took master but such as was bred up before in St. John's; doing the duty of a good *colonia* to her *Metropolis*, as the ancient cities in Greece, and some yet in Italy at this day, are accustomed to do.

St. John's stood in this state, until those heavy times, and that grievous change * that chanced *anno*

* "Anno 1553, et Julii 6to, nobilissimus princeps, Edvardus Sextus, immatura morte, ad hujus regni maximum

1553; when mere perfect scholars were dispersed from thence in one month, than many years can rear up again. For when Aper de Silva had passed the seas, and fastened his foot again in England, not only the two fair groves of learning in England were either cut up by the root, or trodden down to the ground, and wholly went to wrack; but the young spring there, and every where else, was pitifully nipt and overtrodden by very beasts; and also the fairest standers of all were rooted up, and cast into the fire, to the great weakening even at this day of Christ's church in England both for religion and learning.

And what good could chance then to the universities, when some of the greatest, though not of the wisest, nor best learned, nor best men neither of that side, did labour to persuade, * that ignorance was better than knowledge? which they meant not for the laity only, but also for the greatest rabble of their spirituality, what other pretence openly soever they made. And therefore did some of them at Cambridge (whom I will not name openly) cause hedge priests, fetched out of the country, to be made fellows in the university; saying in their talk privily, and declaring by their deeds openly, that he was fellow good enough for their time, if he could wear a gown and tippet comely, and have his crown shorn fair and roundly; and could turn his portesse and pie readily. Which I speak, not to reprove any order either of

detrimentum, ad piorum omnium ingentem dolorem, ad omnium Anglorum immensum malum, et Rogeri Aschami magnam calamitatem, diem obiit." Edv. Grant.

* See this sentence taken out of St. Chrysostom, cited p. 129.

apparel or other duty, that may be well and indifferently used; but to note the misery of that time, when the benefits provided for learning were so foully misused.

And what was the fruit of this seed? Verily, judgment in doctrine was wholly altered, order in discipline very sore changed, the love of good learning began suddenly to wax cold, the knowledge of the tongues (in spite of some that therein had flourished) was manifestly contemned: and so, the way of right study purposely perverted; the choice of good authors, of malice confounded. Old sophistry (I say not well), not old, but that new rotten sophistry, began to beard and shoulder logic in her own tongue: yea, I know that heads were cast together, and counsel devised, that Duns, with all the rabble of barbarous questionists, should have dispossessed of their place and room, Aristotle, Plato, Tully, and Demosthenes; whom good Mr. Redman, and those two worthy stars of that university, Mr. Cheke and Mr. Smith, with their scholars, had brought to flourish as notable in Cambridge, as ever they did in Greece and in Italy: and for the doctrine of those four, the four pillars of learning, Cambridge then giving no place to no university, neither in France, Spain, Germany, nor Italy. Also, in outward behaviour, then began simplicity in apparel to be laid aside, courtly gallantness to be taken up, frugality in diet was privately misliked, town-going to good cheer openly used; honest pastimes, joined with labour, left off in the fields; unthrifty and idle games haunted corners and occupied the nights: contention in youth no where for learning, factions in the elders every where for trifles.

Shooting.

All which miseries at length, by God's providence, had their end * the 16th November, 1558. Since which time the young spring hath shot up so fair, as now there be in Cambridge again many goodly plants (as did well appear at the Queen's Majesty's late being there), which are like to grow to mighty great timber, to the honour of learning and great good of their country, if they may stand their time, as the best plants there were wont to do; and if some old doterel trees, with standing over-nigh them and dropping upon them, do not either hinder or crook their growing: wherein my fear is the less, seeing † so worthy a justice of an oyer hath the present oversight of that whole chase: who was himself some time in the fairest spring that ever was there of learning, one of the forwardest young plants in all that worthy college of St. John's: who now by grace is grown to such greatness, as in the temperate and quiet shade of his wisdom (next the providence of God, and goodness of One), in these our days *religio* for sincerity, *literæ* for order and advancement, *res publica* for happy and quiet government, have, to the great rejoicing of all good men, specially reposed themselves.

Now to return to that question, Whether one, a few, many, or all, are to be followed? My answer shall be short: All, for him that is desirous to know all: yea, the worst of all, as questionists, and all the barbarous nation of schoolmen, help for one or other consideration. But in every separate kind of learning, and study by itself, ye must follow choicely a few, and

* The day of Queen Elizabeth's happy accession to the throne; though our historians fix it on the seventeenth.

† Sir William Cecil, principal secretary of state, and chancellor of the university of Cambridge.

chiefly some one, and that namely in our school of eloquence, either for pen or talk. And as in portraiture and painting, wise men choose not that workman that can only * make a fair hand, or a well-fashioned leg; but such a one as can furnish up fully all the features of the whole body of a man, woman, and child; and withal is able too, by good skill, to give to every one of these three, in their proper kind, the right form, the true figure, the natural colour, that is fit and due to the dignity of a man, to the beauty of a woman, to the sweetness of a young babe: even likewise do we seek such one in our school to follow; who is able always in all matters to teach plainly, to delight pleasantly, and to carry away by force of wise talk, all that shall hear or read him; and is so excellent indeed, as wit is able, or wish can hope, to attain unto; and this not only to serve in the Latin or Greek tongue, but also in our own English language. But yet, because the providence of God hath left unto us in no other tongue, save only in the Greek and Latin tongue, the true precepts and perfect examples of eloquence; therefore must we seek in the authors only of those two tongues, the true pattern of eloquence, if in any other mother tongue we look to attain either to perfect utterance of it ourselves, or skilful judgment of it in others.

And now to know, what author doth meddle only with some one piece and member of eloquence, and

† He seems to have had this passage of Horace in his thoughts:

"Æmilium circa ludum faber imus et ungues
Exprimet, et molles imitabitur ære capillos;
Infelix operis summa; quia ponere totum
Nesciet."

who doth perfectly make up the whole body, I will declare, as I can call to remembrance the goodly talk that I have had oftentimes of the true difference of authors, with that gentleman of worthy memory, my dearest friend, and teacher of all the little poor learning I have, Sir John Cheke.

The true difference of authors is best known *per diversa genera dicendi* that every one used; and therefore here I will divide *genus dicendi*, not into these three, *tenue, mediocre, et grande*, but as the matter of every author requireth; as,

In genus { *Poeticum*, *Historicum*, *Philosophicum*, *Oratorium*.

These differ one from another in choice of words, in framing of sentences, in handling of arguments, and use of right form, figure, and number, proper and fit for every matter: and every one of these is diverse also in itself; as the first,

Poeticum, in { *Comicum*, *Tragicum*, *Epicum*, *Melicum*..

And here, whosoever hath been diligent to read advisedly over Terence, Seneca, Virgil, Horace, or else Aristophanes, Sophocles, Homer, and Pindar; and shall diligently mark the difference they use in propriety of words, in form of sentence, in handling of their matter; he shall easily perceive what is fit, and *decorum* in every one, to the true use of perfect Imitation.

When Mr. Watson, in St. John's College at Cam-

bridge, wrote his excellent tragedy of Absalon, Mr. Cheke, he, and I, for that part of true Imitation, had many pleasant talks together, in comparing the precepts of Aristotle, and Horace *de Arte Poetica* with the examples of Euripides, Sophocles, and Seneca. Few men, in writing of tragedies in our days, have shot at this mark. Some in England, more in France, Germany, and Italy also, have written tragedies in our time: of the which not one, I am sure, is able to abide the true touch of Aristotle's precepts and Euripides's examples, save only two, that ever I saw, Mr. Watson's Absalon, and Georgius Buchananus's Jephthe.

One man in Cambridge, well liked of many, but best liked of himself, was many times bold and busy to bring matters upon stages, which he called tragedies. In one, whereby he looked to win his spurs, and whereat many ignorant fellows fast clapped their hands, *he began the *Protasis* with *trochæis octonariis;* which kind of verse, as it is but seldom and rare in tragedies, so is it never used, save only in *Epitasi;* when the tragedy is highest and hottest, and full of greatest troubles. I remember full well, what Mr. Watson merrily said unto me of his blindness and boldness in that behalf; although otherwise there passed much friendship between them. Mr. Watson had another manner care of perfection, with a fear and reverence of the judgment of the best learned; who, to this day, would never suffer yet his Absalon to go abroad, and that only, †because *in locis paribus*, *Anapæstus* is twice or thrice used instead of *Iambus*.

* "Dividitur Nova Comœdia in quatuor partes: Prologum, Protasin, Epitasin, Catastrophen."

† What is here assigned, could never be the true reason of Mr. Watson's refusing to publish his tragedy, so accurately

A small fault, and such one as perchance would never be marked, no, neither in Italy nor France. This I write, not so much to note the first or praise the last, as to leave in memory of writing for good example to posterity, what perfection in any time was most diligently sought for in like manner in all kind of learning, in that most worthy college of St. John's in Cambridge.

Historicum, in { *Diaria,* / *Annales,* / *Commentarios,* / *Justam Historiam.*

For what propriety in words, simplicity in sentences, plainness and light, is comely for these kinds,

composed, as to be put in competition with Buchanan's Jephthe. For why did he not correct what he judged amiss? a thing so very easy for him to do. Though what if we say, there was no fault in this respect committed, nor any need of alteration! For, excepting the sixth place, the anapest has free liberty to stand where it pleases; and that for this reason, especially with the comedians, as Hephæstion has observed.

Εὑρίσκεται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Κωμικοῖς συνεχῶς ὁ Ἀνάπαιστος· τὸν γὰρ βίον οὗτοι μιμούμενοι, θέλουσι δοκεῖν διαλελυμένως διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐμμετρῶς· ὁ δὲ Ἀνάπαιστος διαλελυμένην ποιεῖ τὴν φράσιν, διὰ τὸ τρίσημον.

I suppose the true reason hereof was, either an unwillingness to appear in print, or a dissatisfaction with the times, he being one of the ejected bishops. But since I have not this excellent tragedy to oblige the reader, being long since destroyed, I fear; yet I shall, at the end of this book, present him with a Greek ode, on our Saviour's Passion, written by Mr. Masters, and no less perfect in its kind. This I do, both to preserve it from being lost (for it is infinitely preferable to Mr. Cowley's Paraphrase), and to show to what perfection we may arrive by a just imitation of the ancients, according to the rules laid down in this book.

Cæsar and Livy, for the two last, are perfect examples of Imitation. And for the two first, the old patterns be lost: and as for some that be present, and of late time, they be fitter to be read once for some pleasure, than oft to be perused for any good Imitation of them.

Philosophicum, in { *Sermonem*: as *Officia Ciceronis, et Ethica Aristotelis.* / *Contentionem*: as the Dialogues of Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero.

Of which kind of learning and right Imitation thereof, Carolus Sigonius hath written of late both learnedly and eloquently: but best of all, my friend Joan. Sturmius, in his commentaries upon *Gorgias Platonis;* which book I have in writing, and is not yet set out in print.

Oratorium, in { *Humile,* / *Mediocre,* / *Sublime.*

Examples of these three in the Greek tongue be plentiful and perfect, as Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes; and all three in only Demosthenes, in divers orations, as *contra Olympiodorum, in Leptinem,* and *pro Ctesiphonte.* And true it is, that Hermogenes writeth of Demosthenes, * "That all forms of eloquence be perfect in him." In Cicero's Orations, *Medium et Sublime* be most excellently handled: but *Humile,* in his Orations, is seldom seen: yet, nevertheless, in other books, as in some part of his Offices, and specially *in Partitionibus,* he is comparable *in hoc humili et disciplinabili genere,* even with the best that ever

* See Hermogenes's first book *de Formis Orationis,* cap. 1. I have not the Greek by me, and the Latin is not worth citing.

wrote in Greek. But of Cicero more fully in fitter place. And thus the true difference of styles in every author, and every kind of learning, may easily be known by this division,

In Genus { *Poeticum*, *Historicum*, *Philosophicum*, *Oratorium*.

Which I thought in this place to touch only, not to prosecute at large; because, God willing, in the Latin tongue, I will fully handle it in my book *de Imitatione*.

Now to touch more particularly, which of those authors, that be now most commonly in men's hands, will soon afford you some piece of eloquence; and what manner a piece of eloquence; and what is to be liked and followed, and what to be misliked and eschewed in them; and how some again will furnish you fully withal, rightly and wisely considered, somewhat I will write, as I have heard Sir John Cheke many times say.

The Latin tongue, concerning any part of pureness of it, from the spring to the decay of the same, did not endure much longer, than is the life of a well-aged man; scarce one hundred years, from the time of the last Scipio Africanus and Lælius to the empire of Augustus. And it is notable, that Velleius Paterculus* writeth of Tully, "how that the perfection of elo-

* Historicos (ut Livium quoque priorum ætati adstruas) præter Catonem et quosdam veteres et obscuros, minus LXXX annis circumdatum ævum tulit: ut nec poetarum in antiquius citeriusve processit ubertas. At oratio, ac vis forensis, perfectumque prosæ eloquentiæ decus, ut idem separetur Cato, (pace P. Crassi, Scipionisque et Lælii et Gracchorum, et Fannii, et Ser. Galbæ dixerim), ita universa sub principe operis sui

quence did so remain only in him, and in his time, as before him were few which might much delight a man, or after him, any worthy admiration, but such as Tully might have seen, and such as might have seen Tully." And good cause why: for no perfection is durable. Increase hath a time, and decay likewise; but all perfect ripeness remaineth but a moment; as is plainly seen in fruits, plums, and cherries; but more sensibly in flowers, as roses and such like; and yet as truly in all greater matters. For what * naturally can go no higher, must naturally yield and stoop again.

Of this short time of any pureness of the Latin tongue, for the first forty years of it, and all the time before, we have no piece of learning left, save Plautus and Terence, † with a little rude unperfect pamphlet of the elder Cato. And as for Plautus, except the schoolmaster be able to make wise and wary choice; first, in propriety of words, then in framing of phrases and sentences, and chiefly in choice of honesty of matter; your scholar were better to play, than learn all that is in him. But surely, if judgment for the tongue, and direction for the manners, be wisely joined with the diligent reading of Plautus, then truly Plautus, for

erupit Tullio; ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis, nisi aut ab illo visum, aut qui illum viderit." PATERCULUS.

* "Alit æmulatio ingenia: et nunc invidia, nunc admiratio incitationem accendit. Mature quoque (*so I think it should be read*) quod summo studio petitum est, ascendit in summum: difficilisque in perfecto mora est; naturaliterque quod procedere non potest, recedit." IDEM.

† One would imagine that Mr. Ascham had never seen Victorius's edition of Cato, *de Re Rustica;* since he here calls it a little rude imperfect pamphlet. And yet it was printed by Rob. Stephens, anno 1543.

that pureness of the Latin tongue in Rome, when Rome did most flourish in well doing, and so thereby in well speaking also, is such a plentiful storehouse for common eloquence in mean matters, and all private men's affairs, as the Latin tongue, for that respect, hath not the like again. When I remember the worthy time of Rome wherein Plautus did live, I must needs honour the talk of that time, which we see Plautus doth use.

Terence is also a storehouse of the same tongue for another time, following soon after; and although he be not so full and plentiful as Plautus is, for multitude of matters, and diversity of words; yet his words be chosen so purely, placed so orderly, and all his stuff so neatly packed up and wittily compassed in every place, as by all wise men's judgment, "he is counted the cunninger workman, and to have his shop, for the room that is in it, more finely appointed, and trimlier ordered, than Plautus's is."

Three things chiefly, both in Plautus and Terence, are to be specially considered: the matter, the utterance, the words, the metre. The matter in both is altogether within the compass of the meanest men's manners, and doth not stretch to any thing of any great weight at all; but standeth chiefly * in uttering the thoughts and conditions of hard fathers, foolish mothers, unthrifty young men, crafty servants, subtile

* In this is chiefly contained the subject matter of all comedies, which Ovid has ingeniously comprised in two verses:

"Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba lena,
Vivent, dum meretrix blanda; Menandros erit."

And so has Terence before him with no less art, in the prologue to his *Eunuchus*.

bawds, and wily harlots; and so is much spent in finding out fine fetches, and packing up pelting matters, such as in London commonly come to the hearing of the masters of Bridewell. Here is base stuff for that scholar that should become hereafter either a good minister in religion, or a civil gentleman in service of his prince and country (except the preacher do know such matters to confute them), when ignorance surely in all such things were better for a civil gentleman than knowledge. "And thus for matter, both Plautus and Terence be like mean painters, that work by halves, and be cunning only in making the worst part of the picture; as if one were skilful in painting the body of a naked person from the navel downward, but nothing else."

For word and speech, Plautus is more plentiful, and Terence more pure and proper. And for one respect, Terence is to be embraced above all that ever wrote in this kind of argument; because it is well known by good record of learning, and that* by Cicero's own witness, that some comedies bearing Terence's name, were written by worthy Scipio and wise Lælius; and namely *Heautontimorumenos* and *Adelphi*. And therefore, as oft as I read those comedies, so oft doth sound in mine ear the pure fine talk of Rome, which was used by the flower of the worthiest nobility that ever Rome bred. Let the wisest man, and best learned that liveth, read advisedly over the first scene of *Heautontimorumenos*, and the first

* "Sequutus sum, non dico Cæcilium, *Mane ut ex portu in Piræeum* (malus enim auctor Latinitatis est), sed Terentium, cujus fabellæ, propter elegantiam sermonis, putabantur a C. Lælio scribi: *Heri aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræeum.*" Cic. lib. 7. Epist. ad Attic. Ep. 3.

scene of *Adelphi*, and let him considerately judge, whether it is the talk of a servile stranger born, or rather even that mild eloquent wise speech which Cicero * in Brutus doth so lively express in Lælius. And yet, nevertheless, in all this good propriety of words, and pureness of phrases, which be in Terence, you must not follow him always in placing of them; because for the metre sake, some words in him sometime be driven awry, which require a straighter placing in plain prose; if you will form, as I would ye should do, your speech and writing to that excellent perfectness which was only in Tully, or only in Tully's time.

Metre in Plautus and Terence.

The metre and verse of Plautus and Terence be very mean, and not to be followed; which is not their reproach, but the fault of the time wherein they wrote, when no kind of poetry in the Latin tongue was brought to perfection; as doth well appear in the fragments of Ennius, Cæcilius, and others, and evidently in Plautus and Terence; if these in Latin be compared with right skill with Homer, Euripides, Aristophanes, and others in Greek of like sort. Cicero himself doth complain of this imperfectness, but more plainly Quintilian, † saying,

* "De ipsius Lælii et Scipionis ingenio, quanquam ea jam est opinio, ut plurimum tribuatur ambobus; dicendi tamen laus est in Lælio illustrior.—— —— Nam ut ex bellica laude adspirare ad Africanum nemo potest, in qua ipsa egregium Viriati bello reperimus fuisse Lælium: sic ingenii, literarum, eloquentiæ, sapientiæ denique, etsi utrique primas, priores tamen libenter deferunt Lælio." Cic. de claris Orator. In which place he has drawn a full comparison betwixt Lælius and Galba.

† "In comœdia maxime claudicamus: licet Varro dicat, 'Musas,' Ælii Stolonis sententia, 'Plautino sermone loquuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent;' licet Cæcilium veteres laudibus

In comœdia maxime claudicamus, et Vix levem consequimur umbram: and most earnestly of all, Horace *in Arte Poetica.* Which he doth namely *propter carmen Iambicum*, and referreth all good students herein to the imitation of the Greek tongue, saying,

"Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna."

This matter maketh me gladly remember my sweet time spent at Cambridge, and the pleasant talk which I had oft with Mr. Cheke and Mr. Watson of this fault, not only in the old Latin poets, but also in our new English rhymers at this day. They wished, as Virgil and Horace were not wedded to follow the faults of former fathers (a shrewd marriage in greater matters), but by right Imitation of the perfect Grecians, had brought poetry to perfectness also in the Latin tongue; that we Englishmen likewise would acknowledge and understand rightfully our rude beggarly rhyming, brought first into Italy by Goths and Huns, when all good verses, and all good learning too, were destroyed by them; and after carried into France and Germany, and at last received into England by men of excellent wit indeed, but of small learning and less judgment in that behalf.

But now, when men know the difference, and have the examples both of the best and of the worst; surely to follow rather the Goths in rhyming, than the Greeks

ferant; licet Terentii scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur: quæ tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima, et plus adhuc habitura gratiæ, si intra versus trimetros stetissent. Vix levem consequimur umbram: adeo ut mihi sermo ipse Romanus non recipere videatur illam solis concessam Atticis Venerem, quando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obtinuerint." Quint. de Instit. Orat. lib. 10, cap. 1.

in true versifying, were even to eat acorns with swine, when we may freely eat wheat bread amongst men. Indeed Chaucer, Tho. Norton of Bristol, my Lord of Surrey, Mr. Wiat, Tho. Phaer, and other gentlemen, in translating Ovid, Palingenius, and Seneca, have gone as far to their great praise as the copy they followed could carry them. But if such good wits and forward diligence, had been directed to follow the best examples, and not have been carried by time and custom to content themselves with that barbarous and rude rhyming, amongst their other worthy praises, which they have justly deserved, this had not been the least to be counted amongst men of learning and skill, more like unto the Grecians than unto the Gothians, in handling of their verse.

Indeed our English tongue, having in use chiefly words of one syllable, which commonly be long, doth not well receive the nature of *carmen heroicum;* because *Dactylus,* the aptest foot for that verse, containing one long and two short, is seldom therefore found in English, and doth also rather stumble than stand upon monosyllables. Quintilian, in his learned chapter* *de Compositione,* giveth this lesson *de monosyllabis* before me; and in the same place doth justly inveigh against all rhyming; that if there be any, who be angry with me for misliking of rhyming, they † may be angry for company too with Quintilian also, for the

* "Etiam monosyllaba, si plura sunt, male continuabuntur, quia necesse est, compositio multis clausulis concisa subsultet. Ideoque etiam brevium verborum ac nominum vitanda continuatio, et ex diverso quoque longorum: afferunt enim quandam dicendi tarditatem. Illa quoque vitia sunt ejusdem loci, si cadentia similiter et similiter desinentia, et eodem modo declinata, multa jungantur." Idem, lib. 9, cap. 4.

† 'They' is omitted in the old editions.

same thing. And yet Quintillian had not so just cause to mislike of it then, as men have at this day.

And although *carmen hexametrum* doth rather trot and hobble, than run smoothly in our English tongue; yet I am sure our English tongue * will receive *carmen iambicum* as naturally as either Greek or Latin. But for ignorance men cannot like, and for idleness men will not labour, to come to any perfectness at all. For as the worthy poets in Athens and Rome were more careful to satisfy the judgment of one learned, than rash in pleasing the humour of a rude multitude; even so, if men in England now had the like reverend regard to learning, skill, and judgment, and durst not presume to write, except they came with the like learning, and also did use like diligence in

* This our incomparable Mr. Milton, not inferior to any of the ancients, well understood; as indeed he did every thing else worth knowing, in the whole compass of learning. He that reads him with right judgment, will easily observe, what use he makes of the Iambic, and how frequently in the second place, to give strength and firmness to his verse. As for instance, in these, which I never read without the greatest admiration:

"Part on the plain, or in the air sublime
Upon the wing, or in swift race contend,
As at th' Olympian games, or Pythian fields."

And a little after, in this sweet verse, where all the feet, excepting the fourth, are Iambics.

"For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense."

This excellency almost peculiar to himself in our language, as also his setting aside rhyme, as no true ornament of verse, I question not but Mr. Milton owes in a great measure (next to his own natural genius), to the authority and reason of this wise and ingenious writer. It is certain he had the memory of Sir John Cheke in great veneration; and to me he seems, in the short Account of his Verse, printed before his poem, to have had our author in his eye.

searching out, not only just measure in every metre (as every ignorant person may easily do), but also true quantity in every foot and syllable (as only the learned shall be able to do, and as the Greeks and Romans were wont to do), surely then rash ignorant heads, which now can easily reckon up fourteen syllables, and easily stumble on every rhyme, either durst not, for lack of such learning, or else would not, in avoiding such labour, be so busy, as every where they be; and shops in London should not be so full of lewd and rude rhymes, as commonly they are. But now the ripest of tongue be readiest to write. And many daily in setting out books and ballads, make great show of blossoms and buds; in whom is neither root of learning nor fruit of wisdom at all.

Some, that make Chaucer in English, and Petrarch in Italian, their gods in verses, and yet be not able to make true difference, what is a fault and what is a just praise in those two worthy wits, will much mislike this my writing. But such men be even like followers of Chaucer and Petrarch, as one here in England did follow Sir Thomas More; who, being most unlike unto him in wit and learning, nevertheless * in wearing his gown awry upon the one shoulder,

* Of this ridiculous and servile Imitation, wise men have always complained. Horace is full of it; and so is Quintilian, and so is Martial. But none so apposite as Tully, in his second book *de Oratore*:

"Nihil est facilius, quam amictum imitari alicujus, aut statum, aut motum. Si vero etiam vitiose aliquid est, id sumere, et in eo vitiosum esse, non magnum est: ut ille, qui nunc etiam amissa voce furit in republica Fusius, nervos in dicendo C. Fimbriæ, quos tamen habuit ille, non assequitur; oris pravitatem, et verborum latitudinem imitatur."

as Sir Thomas More was wont to do, would needs be counted like unto him.

This misliking of rhyming beginneth not now of any new-fangle singularity, but hath been long misliked of many, and that of men of greatest learning and deepest judgment. And such that defend it, do so either for lack of knowledge what is best; or else of very envy that any should perform that in learning, whereunto they (as I said before) either for ignorance cannot, or for idleness will not labour to attain unto.

And you that praise this rhyming, because you neither have reason why to like it, nor can show learning to defend it; yet I will help you with the authority of the oldest and learnedest time. In Greece, when poetry was even at the highest pitch of perfectness, one Simmias Rhodius, of a certain singularity, wrote a book in rhyming Greek verses, naming it ὠὸν containing the fable how Jupiter in likeness of a swan begat that egg upon Leda, whereof came Castor, Pollux, and fair Helena. This book was so liked, that it had few to read it, but none to follow it; but was presently contemned, and soon after both author and book so forgotten by men, and consumed by time, as scarce the name of either is kept in memory of learning. And the like folly was never followed of any, many hundred years after, until the Huns and Goths, and other barbarous nations of ignorance and rude singularity, did revive the same folly again.

The noble lord Thomas earl of Surrey, first of all Englishmen in translating the fourth book of Virgil; and *Gonsalvo Periz, that excellent learned man, and

* Among Mr. Ascham's Letters, there is one to this learned Spaniard, wherein he recommends the ambassador, Sir Wil-

secretary to king Philip of Spain, in translating the Ulysses of Homer out of Greek into Spanish, have both by good judgment avoided the fault of rhyming: yet neither of them hath fully hit perfect and true versifying. Indeed they observe just number, and even feet; but here is the fault, that their feet be feet without joints; that is to say, not distinct by true quantity of syllables. And so such feet be but benumb feet; and be even as unfit for a verse to turn and run roundly withal, as feet of brass or wood be unwieldly to go well withal. And as a foot of wood is a plain show of a manifest maim; even so feet in our English versifying without quantity and joints, be sure signs that the verse is either born deformed, unnatural, or lame; and so very unseemly to look upon, except to men that be goggle-eyed themselves.

The spying of this fault now is not the curiosity of English eyes, but even the good judgment also of the best that write in these days in Italy; and namely of that worthy Senese Felice Figliucci; who,* writing upon Aristotle's Ethics so excellently in Italian, as never did yet any one in mine opinion, either in Greek or Latin, amongst other things, doth most earnestly inveigh against the rude rhyming of verses in that tongue. And whensoever he expresseth Aristotle's precepts with any example out of Homer or Euripides, he translateth them, not after the rhymes of Petrarch, but into such kind of perfect verse, with like feet and

liam Cecil, to his acquaintance and friendship. The superscription of the Letter is, "Clarissimo viro, D. Gonsalvo Perisio, Regis Catholici Secretario primario, et Consiliario intimo, Amico meo carissimo."

* The title of this Italian book is, "Filosofia Morale sopra il 10 Libri d'Ethica d'Aristotile."

quantity of syllables as he found them before in the Greek tongue, exhorting earnestly all the Italian nation to leave off their rude barbariousness in rhyming, and follow diligently the excellent Greek and Latin examples in true versifying.

And you, that be able to understand no more than ye find in the Italian tongue; and never went further than the school of Petrarch and Ariostus abroad, or else of Chaucer at home; though you have pleasure to wander blindly still in your foul wrong way, envy not others that seek, as wise men have done before them, the fairest and rightest way; or else, beside the just reproach of malice, wise men shall truly judge that you do so, as I have said, and say yet again unto you, because either for idleness you will not, or for ignorance ye cannot, come by no better yourself.

And therefore, even as Virgil and Horace deserve most worthy praise, that they spying the unperfectness in Ennius and Plautus, by true Imitation of Homer and Euripides, brought poetry to the same perfectness in Latin as it was in Greek; even so those, that by the same way would benefit their tongue and country, deserve rather thanks than dispraise in that behalf.

And I rejoice that even poor England prevented Italy, first in spying out, then in seeking to amend this fault in learning.

And here, for my pleasure, I purpose a little by the way, to play and sport with my master Tully; from whom commonly I am never wont to dissent. He himself, for this point of learning, in his verses doth halt a little, by his leave. He could not deny it, if he were alive, nor those defend him now that love him best. This fault I lay to his charge; because once it pleased him,

Tully's saying against England, *Ad Att. lib. 4, ep. 16.*

though somewhat merrily, yet over-uncourteously, to rail upon poor England, objecting both extreme beggary and mere barbariousness unto it, writing thus* unto his friend Atticus: "There is not one scruple of silver in that whole isle, or any one that knoweth either learning or letter."

But now, master Cicero, blessed be God and his Son Jesus Christ, whom you never knew, except it were as it pleased Him to enlighten you by some shadow, as covertly in one place ye confess, saying, *Veritatis tantum umbram consectamur*, as your master Plato did before you: blessed be God, I say, that sixteen hundred year after you were dead and gone, it may truly be said, that for silver, there is more comely plate in one city of England, than is in four of the proudest cities in all Italy, and take Rome for one of them: and for learning, beside the knowledge of all learned tongues and liberal sciences, even your own books, Cicero, be as well read, and your excellent eloquence is as well liked and loved, and as truly followed in England at this day, as it is now, or ever was since your own time, in any place of Italy, either at Arpinum, where ye were born, or else at Rome, where ye were brought up. And a little to brag with you, Cicero, where you yourself, by your leave, halted in some point of learning in your own tongue, many in England at this day go straight up, both in true skill and right doing therein.

This I write, not to reprehend Tully, whom above

* Britannici belli exitus exspectatur: constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos exspectare." Cic. lib. 4, Epist. ad Attic. ep. 16.

all other I like and love best; but to excuse Terence, because in his time, and a good while after, poetry was never perfected in Latin, until by true Imitation of the Grecians it was at length brought to perfection: and also thereby to exhort the goodly wits of England, which, apt by nature, and willing by desire, give themselves to poetry; that they, rightly understanding the barbarous bringing in of rhymes, would labour as Virgil and Horace did in Latin, to make perfect also this point of learning in our English tongue. And thus much for Plautus and Terence, for matter, tongue, and metre; what is to be followed and what to be eschewed in them.

After Plautus and Terence, no writing remaineth until Tully's time, except a few short fragments of L. Crassus's excellent wit, here and there * recited of Cicero for example sake; whereby the lovers of learning may the more lament the loss of such a worthy wit. And although the Latin tongue did fair bloom and blossom in L. Crassus and M. Antonius; yet in Tully's time only, and in Tully himself chiefly, was the Latin tongue fully ripe and grown to the highest

* In the first book *de Oratore*, Antonius recites this passage out of Crassus's Oration to the Commons of Rome: "Eripite nos ex miseriis; eripite nos ex faucibus eorum, quorum crudelitas nostro sanguine non potest expleri: nolite sinere nos cuiquam servire, nisi vobis universis, quibus et possumus, et debemus."

And in his introduction to the third, Tully produces this short, but admirable fragment, out of his speech, delivered in the senate-house against the consul Philip: "An tu, quum omnem auctoritatem universi ordinis pro pignore putaris, eamque in conspectu populi Romani concideris, me his pignoribus existimas posse terreri? Non tibi illa sunt cædenda, si Crassum vis coercere. Hæc tibi est excidenda lingua: qua vel evulsa, spiritu ipso libidinem tuam libertas mea refutabit.

pitch of all perfection. And yet in the same time, it began to fade and stoop, as Tully himself, in *Brutus de claris Oratoribus*,* with weeping words doth witness.

And because amongst them of that time there was some difference, good reason is, that of them of that time should be made right choice also. And yet let the best Ciceronian in Italy read Tully's Familiar Epistles advisedly over, and I believe he shall find small difference for the Latin tongue (either in propriety of words or framing of the style) betwixt Tully and those that write unto him: as Ser. Sulpicius, A. Cæcina, M. Cælius, M. & D. Bruti, Asinius Pollio, L. Plancus, and divers other. Read the epistles of Lucius Plancus † in x lib.; and for an assay, that epistle namely to the consuls and whole senate, the eight epistle in number; and what could be either more eloquently or more wisely written, yea by Tully himself, a man may justly doubt. These men and Tully lived all in one time; were like in authority, not unlike in learning and study, which might be just causes of this their equality in writing. And yet surely they

* "Etenim si viveret Q. Hortensius, cætera fortasse desideraret una cum reliquis bonis et fortibus civibus; hunc autem et præter cæteros aut cum paucis sustineret dolorem, quum forum populi Romani, quod fuisset quasi theatrum illius ingenii, voce erudita, et Romanis Græcisque auribus digna, spoliatum atque orbatum videret.—

"Nam mihi, Brute, in te intuenti crebro in mentem venit vereri, ecquodnam curriculum aliquando sit habitura tua et natura admirabilis, et exquisita doctrina, et singularis industria. Quum enim in maximis causis versatus esses, et quum tibi ætas nostra jam cederet fascesque submitteret, subito in civitate quum alia ceciderunt, tum etiam ea ipsa, de qua disputare ordimur, eloquentia obmutuit." Cic. de claris Orat.

† Ep. Planci, x lib. Epist. 8.

neither were indeed, nor yet were counted in men's opinions, equal with Tully in that faculty.

And how is the difference hid in his Epistles? Verily, as the cunning of an expert seaman in a fair calm fresh river, doth little differ from the doing of a meaner workman therein; even so, in the short cut of a private letter, where matter is common, words easy, and order not much diverse, small show of difference can appear. But where Tully doth set up his sail of eloquence in some broad deep argument, carried with full tide and wind of his wit and learning; all other may rather stand and look after him, than hope to overtake him, what course soever he hold either in fair or foul. Four men only, when the Latin tongue was full ripe, be left unto us, who in that time did flourish, and did leave to posterity the fruit of their wit and learning; Varro, Sallust, Cæsar, and Cicero.

When I say these four only, I am not ignorant that even in the same time most excellent poets, deserving well of the Latin tongue, as Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, and Horace, did write. But because in this little book I purpose to teach a young scholar to go, not to dance; to speak, not to sing, (when poets indeed, namely *Epici* and *Lyrici*, as these be, are fine dancers and trim singers:) but *Oratores* and *Historici* be those comely goers and fair and wise speakers, of whom I wish my scholar to wait upon first; and after in good order, and due time, to be brought forth to the singing and dancing school. And for this consideration I do mean these four to be the only writers of that time.

VARRO.

Varro in his books *de Lingua Latina et Analogia*, as these be left mangled and patched unto us, doth not

enter there into any great depth of eloquence, but as one carried in a small low vessel himself very nigh the common shore, not much unlike the fishermen of Rye, and herring men of Yarmouth, who deserve by common men's opinion small commendation for any cunning sailing at all. Yet nevertheless, in those books of Varro, good and necessary stuff for that mean kind of argument, is very well and learnedly gathered together.

De Re Rustica.

His books of husbandry are much to be regarded, and diligently to be read, not only for the propriety, but also for the plenty of good words in all country and husbandmen's affairs, which cannot be had by so good authority out of any other author, either of so good a time, or of so great learning, as out of Varro. And yet, because * he was fourscore years old when he wrote those books, the form of his style there compared with Tully's writing, is but even the talk of a spent old man; whose words commonly fall out of his mouth, though very wisely, yet hardly and coldly, and more heavily also, than some ears can well bear, except only for age and authority's sake; and perchance in a rude country argument, of purpose and judgment he rather used the speech of the country than the talk of the city.

And so for matter sake his words sometime be somewhat rude; and by the Imitation of the elder Cato, old and out of use. And being deep stept in age, by negli-

* For this we have Varro's own words, in the beginning of his first book of Country Affairs: "Otium si essem consequutus, Fundania, commodius tibi hæc scriberem, quæ nunc, ut potero, exponam, cogitans esse properandum: quod, ut dicitur, si est homo bulla, eo magis senex. Annus enim octogesimus admonet me, ut sarcinas colligam antequam proficiscar e vita."

gence some words do so escape and fall from him in those books, as be not worth the taking up by him that is careful to speak or write true Latin; * as that sentence in him *Romani in pace a rusticis alebantur, et in bello ab his tuebantur.* A good student must be therefore careful and diligent to read with judgment over even those authors which did write in the most perfect time. And let him not be afraid to try them, both in propriety of words and form of style, by the touchstone of Cæsar and Cicero, whose purity was never soiled, no not by the sentence of those that loved them worst.

The loss of Varro's books.

All lovers of learning may sore lament the loss of those books of Varro, which he wrote in his young and lusty years with good leisure, and † great learning, of all parts of philosophy; of the goodliest arguments pertaining both to the commonwealth and private life of man; as *de Ratione Studii, et de Liberis Educandis;* which book is oft recited and much praised ‡ in the fragments of Nonius,

* This citation I have corrected from Victorius's edition. The whole sentence is this: "Itaque non sine causa majores nostri ex urbe in agris redigebant suos cives, quod et in pace a rusticis Romanis alebantur, et in bello ab his tuebantur." Lib. 3, cap. 1, § 4.

† Quintilian's character and judgment of this learned writer, we have in his tenth book *de Inst. Orat.* "Alterum illud est, et prius Satyræ genus, quod non sola carminum varietate mistum condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditissimus; Plurimos hic libros, et doctissimos composuit, peritissimus linguæ Latinæ, et omnis antiquitatis, et rerum Græcarum nostrarumque; plus tamen scientiæ collaturus, quam eloquentiæ."

‡ One instance I shall produce out of his chapter *de Genere Vestimentorum.* "Encombomata, et Parnacidas, genera vestium puellarum." Varro de Liberis Educandis: "Ut puellæ habeant potius in vestitu chlamydas encombomata, ac parnacidas, quam togas."

even for authority sake. He wrote most diligently and largely also the whole history of the state of Rome; the mysteries of their whole religion; their laws, customs, and government in peace; their manners and whole discipline in war. And this is not my guessing, as one, indeed that never saw those books; but even the very judgment and plain testimony of Tully himself, who knew and read these books, * in these words: "Tu ætatem patriæ; tu descriptiones temporum; tu sacrorum, tu sacerdotum jura; tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam; tu sedem regionum, locorum; tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti," &c.

But this great loss of Varro is a little recompensed by the happy coming † of Dionysius Halicarnassæus to Rome in Augustus's days; who, getting the possession of Varro's library, out of that treasure-house of learning did leave unto us some fruit of Varro's wit and diligence; I mean his goodly books *de Antiquita-*

* This passage, taken out of Tully's first book of his Academical Questions, [i, 3, § 9] St. Augustine has also cited somewhat more fully in his sixth book *de Civitate Dei*.

† Ἐγὼ καταπλεύσας εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἅμα τῷ καταλυθῆναι τὸν Ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος. This account he gives of himself in the Introduction to his History; and in his second book he makes this honourable mention of Varro: Λέγω δὲ ἃ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἐν Ἀρχαιολογίαις ἔγραψεν, ἀνὴρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμασάντων πολυπειρότατος. The loss also of many of Dionysius's books we may justly lament; for had they been preserved entire, we should much less have perceived the want of Varro's learning and diligence; or, to use Balthasar Bonifacius's words, "Si historia Dionysii integra exstaret, nihil esset cur Varronis thesauros quæreremus."

tibus Romanis. Varro was so esteemed for his excellent learning, as Tully himself had a reverence to his judgment in all doubts of learning. And Antonius Triumvir, his enemy, and of a contrary faction, who had power to kill and banish whom he listed; when Varro's name among others was brought in a schedule unto him, to be noted to death, he took his pen and wrote his warrant of safeguard with these most goodly words: *Vivat Varro, vir doctissimus.* In later time no man knew better, nor liked nor loved more Varro's learning, than did St. Augustine; as they do well understand that have diligently read over his learned books *de Civitate Dei*; where he hath this most notable * sentence: "When I see how much Varro wrote, I marvel much that ever he had any leisure to read; and when I perceive how many things he read, I marvel more that ever he had any leisure to write," &c.

* The second chapter of St. Augustine's sixth book is wholly spent in admiration of Varro's learning and industry; where this following passage is, to which Mr. Ascham alludes:

"Iste igitur vir, tam insignis excellentisque peritiæ, et quod de illo etiam Terentianus elegantissimo versiculo breviter ait;

'Vir doctissimus undecunque Varro;'

qui tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacasse miremur: tam multa scripsit, quam multa vix quenquam legere potuisse arbitror."

The number of his works is almost incredible. Aulus Gellius relates from Varro's own words, that in his 84th year he had writ four hundred and ninety books; but that his library having been plundered during his proscription, several of them were afterwards missing.

"Tum ibi addit, se quoque jam duodecimam annorum hebdomadam ingressum esse, et ad eum diem septuaginta hebdomadas librorum conscripsisse: ex quibus aliquam multos, quum proscriptus esset, direptis bibliothecis suis, non comparuisse."

And surely, if Varro's books had remained to posterity, as by God's providence the most part of Tully's did, then truly the Latin tongue might have made good comparison with the Greek.

SALLUST.

Sallust is a wise and worthy writer; but he requireth a learned reader, and a right considerer of him. My dearest friend and best master that ever I had or heard in learning, Sir John Cheke, (such a man, as if I should live to see England breed the like again, I fear I should live overlong,) did once give me a lesson for Sallust, which, as I shall never forget myself, so is it worthy to be remembered of all those that would come to perfect judgment of the Latin tongue. He said that Sallust was not very fit for young men to learn out of him the purity of the Latin tongue; because he was not the purest in propriety of words, nor choicest in aptness of phrases, nor the best in framing of sentences; and therefore is his writing (said he) neither plain for the matter, nor sensible for men's understanding.

Sir John Cheke's judgment and counsel for reading of Sallust.

"And what is the cause thereof, Sir?" quoth I. "Verily," said he, "because in Sallust's writing is more art than nature, and more labour than art; and in his labour also too much toil; as it were, with an uncontented care to write better than he could; a fault common to very many men. And therefore he doth not express the matter lively and naturally with common speech, as ye see Xenophon doth in Greek; but it is carried and driven forth artificially after too learned a sort, as Thucydides doth in his Orations."

"And how cometh it to pass," said I, "that Cæsar

and Cicero's talk is so natural and plain, and Sallust's writing so artificial and dark, when they all three lived in one time?" "I will freely tell you my fancy herein," said he.

"Surely Cæsar and Cicero, beside a singular prerogative of natural eloquence, given unto them by God, both two by use of life were daily orators amongst the common people, and greatest counsellors in the senate-house; and therefore gave themselves to use such speech as the meanest should well understand, and the wisest best allow; following carefully that good counsel of Aristotle, *Loquendum, ut multi: sapiendum, ut pauci.*

"Sallust was no such man, neither for will to goodness nor skill by learning; but ill given by nature, and made worse by bringing up; spent the most part of his youth very misorderly in riot and lechery, in the company of such, who never giving their mind to honest doing, could never inure their tongue to wise speaking. But at last, coming to better years, and buying wit at the dearest hand, (that is, by long experience of the hurt and shame that cometh of mischief,) moved by the counsel of them that were wise, and carried by the example of such as were good, first fell to honesty of life, and after to the love of study and learning; and so became so new a man, that Cæsar being dictator, made him prætor in Numidia; where he, absent from his country, and not inured with the common talk of Rome, but shut up in his study, and bent wholly upon reading, did write the History of the Romans. And for the better accomplishing of the same, he read Cato and Piso in Latin, for gathering of matter and truth; and Thucy-

dides in Greek, for the order of his history and furnishing of his style.

"Cato (as his time required) had more truth for the matter than eloquence for the style. And so Sallust,* by gathering truth out of Cato, smelleth much of the roughness of his style; even as a man that eateth garlick for health, shall carry away with him the savour of it also, whether he will or not. And yet the use of old words is not the greatest cause of Sallust's roughness and darkness. There be in Sallust some † old words indeed, as *Patrare bellum*, *Ductare*

* His extreme affectation, and fondness for Cato's language, is severely censured in an old epigram, made by no friend, as it appears of Sallust's, and mentioned by Quintilian. "Nec minus noto Sallustius epigrammate incessitur,

'Et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis,
Crispe, Jugurthinæ conditor historiæ.'"

† "Ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentes prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges cœptum atque patratum foret bellum:" in his Jugurthine War. And again, in the same history; "Tamen spe patrandi belli." So likewise, "Ductare exercitum," in his Catilinarian Conspiracy; "Quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat." And in his History of Jugurtha; "Ipse quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare."

These expressions in Sallust, Quintilian does indeed take notice of; but not so much to find fault with the historian for using them, as with the age wherein he lived, and some idle wits, who strained the signification of these words to a loose and wanton meaning, quite contrary to the historian's intention and design.

"Vel hoc vitium sit, quod *κακόφατον* vocatur: sive mala consuetudine in obscœnum intellectum sermo detortus est, ut, *ductare excercitum*, et *patrare bellum*, apud Sallustium dicta sancte et antique, ridentur a nobis, si diis placet: quam culpam non scribentium quidem judico, sed legentium: tamen vitanda, quatenus verba honesta moribus perdidimus, et evincentibus etiam vitiis cedendum est.

exercitum, well noted by Quintilian, and very much misliked of him. And **supplicium* for *supplicatio*; a word smelling of an older store than the other two so misliked by Quintilian. And yet is that word also in Varro, speaking of oxen thus, *Boves ad victimas faciunt, atque ad deorum servant supplicia*; and a few old words more.

"Read Sallust and Tully advisedly together, and in words ye shall find small difference: yea, Sallust is more given to new words than to old, though some writers say the contrary: as † *claritudo* for *gloria*, *exactè* for *perfectè*, ‡*facundia* for *eloquentia*. These two last words, *exacte* and *facundia*, now in every man's mouth, be never (as I do remember) used of Tully: and therefore I think they be not good. For surely Tully speaking every where so much of the matter of

* "Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta diis immortalibus supplicia decernere." *Bello Jugurthino.* The following passage is in Varro's second book *de Re Rustica*, cap. 5, but ill printed in the former edition: "Tametsi quidam de Italicis quos propter amplitudinem præstare dicunt, ad victimas farciunt, atque ad deorum servant supplicia." R. R. 5, 10.

† Quum præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur;" in his preface to the Jugurthine War. And a little after, speaking of Jugurtha; "In tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, uti nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset."

‡ "Facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse." *Bello Catil.* And in his Jugurthine: "Sed, quoniam ea tempestate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit." Now whatever Tully's reasons were for refusing this word, yet Ovid, it is certain, was not so nice.

> "Neve mihi noceat, quod vobis semper, Achivi,
> Profuit ingenium: meaque hæc facundia, si qua est,
> Quæ nunc pro domino, pro vobis sæpe locuta est,
> Invidia careat."

eloquence, would not so precisely have abstained from the word *facundia*, if it had been good; that is, proper for the tongue and common for men's use.

"I could be long in reciting many such like, both old and new words in Sallust: but in very deed, neither oldness nor newness of words maketh the greatest difference betwixt Sallust and Tully: but first, strange phrases, made of good Latin words, but framed after the Greek tongue; which be neither choicely borrowed of them, nor properly used by him: then, a hard composition and crooked framing of his words and sentences; as a man would say, English talk placed and framed outlandish-like. As for example first in phrases:

The cause why Sallust is not like Tully.

"*Nimius et animus* be two used words: yet **Homo nimius animi* is an unused phrase. *Vulgus, et amat, et fieri,* be as common and well known words as may be in the Latin tongue: yet †*Id quod vulgo amat fieri,*

* This phrase, as I remember, is only in his Fragments: "Impotens, et nimius animi est." In the same sense is that of Horace, "Nimium mero Hylæum."

† If I mistake not, this expression is nowhere to be found in Sallust; but is formed by Mr. Ascham in imitation of his style in other places. Quintilian in his ninth book has a passage not unlike it: Ex Græco vero translata vel Sallustii plurima: quale est, 'Vulgus amat fieri.'" And in his Jugurthine War: "Tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia."

In this place, we have *amat* either used as an impersonal, or else (what is still more harsh and repugnant to the Latin construction) in imitation of the Greek tongue, joined to a nominative plural. In which language φιλεῖ is frequent enough in this sense; and so are οἶδε, ἐπίστανται, πέφυκε,, but more especially among the poets.

for *solet fieri*, is but a strange and Greekish kind of writing. *Ingens et vires* be proper words; yet **vir ingens virium*, is an unproper kind of speaking. And so be likewise, *æger consilii*, *promptissimus belli*, *territus animi*, and many such like phrases in Sallust, borrowed, as I said, not choicely out of Greek, and used therefore unproperly in Latin.

"Again, in whole sentences, where the matter is good, the words proper and plain; yet the sense is hard and dark; and namely, in his prefaces and orations, wherein he used most labour. Which fault is likewise in Thucydides in Greek, of whom Sallust hath taken the greatest part of his darkness. For Thucydides likewise wrote his story, not at home in Greece, but abroad in Italy; and therefore smelleth of a certain outlandish kind of talk, strange to them of Athens, and diverse from their writing that lived in Athens and Greece, and wrote the same time that Thucydides did: as Lysias, Xenophon, Plato, and Isocrates, the purest and plainest writers that ever wrote in any tongue, and best examples for any man to

As to the word itself, whatever objections it may be liable to in prose, where every thing should be plain and easy; yet I see no reason why it should be excluded in poetry. Horace, I am sure, had no such scruple against it, as appears from these lines, secure of any censure:

> "Aurum per medios ire satellites
> Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
> Ictu fulmineo."

* This expression is only to be met with in the Fragments: "Ingens ipse virium, atque animi." And so is "consilii æger." And likewise this sentence: "Neque virgines nuptum a parentibus mittebantur, sed ipsæ belli promptissimos delegebant." And lastly, "Tetrarchas regesque territos animi firmavit."

follow, whether he write Latin, Italian, French, or English. Thucydides also seemeth in his writing, not so much benefited by nature, as holpen by art, and carried forth by desire, study, labour, toil, and over-great curiosity; who spent twenty-seven years in writing his eight books of his History. Sallust likewise wrote out of his country, and followed the faults of Thucydides too much; and borroweth of him some kind of writing, which the Latin tongue cannot well bear; as * *casus nominativus* in divers places *absolutè positus;* as in that place of his Jugurthine War, speaking *de Leptitanis*:—*Itaque ab imperatore facile quæ petebant adepti, missæ sunt eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor.* This thing in participles,

Dionys. Halicar. ad Q. Tub. de Hist. Thuc.

* Here, for want of better copies, these two learned gentlemen were led aside to a wrong censure of their author. For this passage, beyond all dispute (as later editions have settled it), is thus to be read: "Itaque ab imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti. Missæ sunt eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius præfectus." It is a short scheme of speech, familiar to Sallust and other writers; wherein the auxiliary verb *sunt* is elegantly left out. In the same manner, Livy, speaking of Tullus Hostilius: "Imperitabat tum C. Cluilius Albæ: utrinque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi." (c. 77, § 4.)

And is not this a demonstration of the necessity of correct and accurate editions? Will not this also teach some men of letters civility and good manners? Will not this oblige them to modesty, if they chance to see a little better than others in the same argument, and discover a mistake that has escaped the observation of such as have gone before? Will any one pronounce his fellow-student ignorant and illiterate for some little omission or inadvertency, when he sees two such champions in all polite learning, foiled for want only of one single point fixed in its right place? So liable to error is human frailty! so short-sighted is the keenest eye! and so narrow and confined is the most comprehensive understanding!

used so oft in Thucydides, and other Greek authors too, may better be borne withal; but Sallust useth the same more strangely and boldly,* as in these words; *Multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus.* I believe the best grammarian in England can scarce give a good rule, why *quisque*, the nominative case without any verb, is so thrust up amongst so many oblique cases."

Some man perchance will smile, and laugh to scorn

* "Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicut Afri putant, interiit: exercitus ejus, compositus ex gentibus variis, amisso duce, ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur."

This is the sentence at length; and I perceive learned men have given themselves no small trouble, though indeed to little purpose, in reconciling it to the rules of common syntax. And yet what can be more easy, if we thus apply what is certainly to be understood? "Multis (sibi quisque scilicet petebat) imperium petentibus." This I take to be the right way to account for it. One sentence, wherein stronger affirmation is made, respecting each individual, in a short succinct form of speaking, is included in another.

But if this be thought so difficult a question, as to have the ablest grammarian in England called upon to clear it; what shall we say to this construction in Livy, "Raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis," which I take to be much more knotty and intricate? It is in his first book, where he is describing the ruins of Alba. Here, if I mistake not, we have a pure Attic idiom brought to Rome; the relative and antecedent being joined in the same case. In plain language fully expressed, it ought to have been, "Raptim iis, quæ quisque poterat efferre, elatis."

These constructions I look upon as pleasing irregularities, or fond innovations, what the Greeks call σχήματα καινοπρεπείας at first forwardly introduced, and afterwards by use and custom established. Of this nature are, "Cui nomen Iulo:" and, "Lactea nomen erat," and such like; thought, no question, to be beauties, like moles in a fair face.

this my writing, and call it idle curiosity, thus to busy myself in picking about these small points of grammar; not fit for my age, place, and calling, to trifle in. I trust that man, be he never so great in authority, never so wise and learned, either by other men's judgment or his own opinion, will yet think that he is not greater in England than Tully was at Rome; nor yet wiser nor better learned than Tully was himself; who at the pitch of threescore years, in the midst of the broil betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, when he knew not whither to send wife and children, which way to go, where to hide himself; yet in an earnest letter, amongst his earnest counsels for those heavy times, concerning both the common state of his country and his own private great affairs, he was neither unmindful nor ashamed to reason at large, and learn gladly of Atticus,* a less point of grammar than these be, noted of me in Sallust; as whether he should write *ad Piræea*, or *in Piræa*, or *in Piræeum*, or, *Piræeum, sine præpositione.*

* "Venio ad Pirææa, in quo magis reprehendendus sum, quod homo Romanus *Piræea* scripserim, non *Piræeum* (sic enim omnes nostri loquuti sunt) quam quod *in* addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præposui, sed ut loco: et tamen Dionysius noster, qui est nobiscum, et Nicias Cous non rebatur, oppidum esse Pirææa; sed de re videro. Nostrum quidem si est peccatum, in eo est quod non ut de oppido loquutus sum, sed ut de loco; sequutusque sum, non dico Cæcilium, 'Mane ut ex portu in Pirææum;' (malus enim auctor Latinitatis est) sed Terentium, cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam putabantur a C. Lælio scribi: 'Heri aliquot adolescentuli coiimus in Pirææum.' (It is much better in the editions of Terence, *in* Pirææo) et idem, 'Mercator hoc addebat, Captam e Sunio.' Quod si δήμους oppida esse volumus; tam est oppidum Sunium, quam Pirææus. Sed, quoniam Grammaticus es, si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolveris, magna me molestia liberaris. *Ad Att.* lib. 7, ep. 3, § 10.

And in those heavy times he was so careful to know this small point of grammar, that he addeth these words: *Si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolveris, magna me molestia liberâris.*

If Tully at that age, in that authority, in that care for his country, in that jeopardy for himself, and extreme necessity of his dearest friends, being also the prince of eloquence himself, was not ashamed to descend to these low points of grammar in his own natural tongue; what should scholars do? yea, what should any man do, if he do think well doing better than ill doing, and had rather be perfect than mean; sure than doubtful; to be what he should be indeed, not seem what he is not in opinion? He that maketh perfectness in the Latin tongue his mark, must come to it by choice and certain knowledge, and not stumble upon it by chance and doubtful ignorance. And the right steps to reach unto it be these, linked thus orderly together, aptness of nature, love of learning, diligence in right order, constancy with pleasant moderation, and always to learn of them that be best; and so shall you judge, as they that be wisest. And these be those rules which worthy Master Cheke did impart unto me concerning Sallust, and the right judgment of the Latin tongue.

CÆSAR.

Cæsar, for that little of him that is left unto us, * is like the half face of a Venus, the other part of the

* "Accedit eodem testis locuples Posidonius, qui etiam scribit in quadam epistola, Pub. Rutilium Rufum dicere solere, qui Panætium audierat, ut nemo pictor esset inventus, qui Coæ Veneris eam partem, quam Apelles inchoatam reliquisset,

head being hidden, the body and the rest of the members unbegun; yet so excellently done by Apelles, as all men may stand still to maze and muse upon it, and no man step forth with any hope to perform the like.

His seven books *de Bello Gallico*, and three *de Bello Civili*, be written so wisely for the matter, so eloquently for the tongue, that neither his greatest enemies could ever find the least note of partiality in him (a marvellous wisdom of a man, namely writing of his own doings), nor yet the best judgers of the Latin tongue, nor the most envious lookers upon other men's writings, can say any other, but all things be most perfectly done by him.

Brutus, Calvus, and Calidius, who found fault with Tully's fulness in words and matter, and that rightly; for Tully did both confess it, and mend it: yet in Cæsar they neither did, nor could find the like, or any other fault.

And therefore thus justly I may conclude of Cæsar; that where in all other, the best that ever wrote in any time, or in any tongue, in Greek or Latin (I except neither Plato, Demosthenes, nor Tully), some fault is justly noted; in Cæsar only could never yet fault be found.

Yet nevertheless, for all this perfect excellency in him, yet it is but one member of eloquence, and that but of one side neither; when we must look for that example to follow, which hath a perfect head, a whole body, forward and backward, arms, and legs, and all.

absolveret (oris enim pulcritudo reliqui corporis imitandi spem auferebat), sic ea, quæ Panætius prætermisisset et non perfecisset, propter eorum, quæ perfecisset, præstantiam, neminem esse persecutum." Cic. de Offic. lib. 3, § 10; *Ad fam.* i, 9, § 15.

a Thus are we come to the end of what is left us on this subject, by this truly learned and ingenious writer; whose excellent judgment and abilities seem little inferior to the ablest masters of antiquity; and had he lived to have perfected what is here but a rough draught at best, an unfinished work, I much question whether any rhetorician, either Greek or Roman, would have been of more use in the study of oratory, or deserved greater esteem of learned men. But here I must add his own similitude, and compare him, as he did Cæsar, to the inimitable face of the Coan Venus, drawn by the hand of Apelles; unhappily left imperfect, and ever so to remain, for want of an able artist of equal skill to give it its just beauty, and to add some little colouring and ornament which seem defective.

In order to make the piece complete (as I think), a full and distinct character of Tully, together with a whole chapter about declamation, or the constant exercise and practice of invention, is still wanting. Tully by our author is joined with Varro, Sallust, and Cæsar, as the most unexceptionable writers of the purest age, and best patterns for imitation. And how comes he, whom Mr. Ascham chiefly admires, when the other three are so largely described, to be passed over in silence? And yet this he seems to promise, before, in these words: "But of Cicero more fully in fitter place:" unless we say, he reserved this for his Latin work; which doth not seem probable. Again, elsewhere, Mr. Ascham tells us, "There are six ways appointed for the learning of tongues and increase of eloquence," which he designs to treat of. Declamation is the last there mentioned, and yet we have not one word about it.

But if any one is not yet satisfied with what I say; Mr. Ascham's Letter to his friend Sturmius of Strasburgh, wherein he gives a full account of his Schoolmaster, will sufficiently convince him. In one place, he modestly desires leave of his friend, to make use of the same instance out of Tully, for a further illustration of the argument in hand, as he had done before him. And afterwards, near the end of the same letter, he earnestly entreats Sturmius to send him, with all speed, what he had lately writ on the same subject; that his Schoolmaster, as yet almost naked and unsightly, might thence receive some better dress, before he appeared in public.

But these passages being no where to be found in this treatise before us, prove beyond exception, that as excellent as this work is, yet it was designed for further improvements and greater perfection, had the author enjoyed a longer life.

This is what I thought necessary to acquaint the reader with, before I took my leave of him; not doubting in the least of his candour and ingenuity, either towards the author or myself.

LATIN POEMS
BY ROGER ASCHAM.

DISERTISSIMI VIRI ROGERI ASCHAMI POEMATA.

Ad potentissimum principem Henricum Octavum, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regem.

Singula priscorum virtus fuit inclyta regum,
  Illustris singlis singula lausque fuit.
Imperii quoddam decus exornavit Atridem,
  Extulit Æacidem forma manusque trucem.
Hostes prudenter cautus prævertit Ulysses:
  Consilium fluxit Nestoris ore grave.
Sunt qui divitias jactant, ut Crœsus opum vim,
  Fortuna Cæsar nixus ubique sua.
Æthiopes nullum regem signare volebant,
  Insignis qui non corpore clarus erat.
Hæc, Henrice, tibi natura insueverat uni,
  In te vim cunctam fuderat illa suam.
Imperio digna est majestas, allinit ora
  Digna Venus règno, formaque digna deo:
Consilio superas maturo quosque Lycurgos;
  Hostes perfregit aurea virga tuos.
Si regem monstret præstantia corporis, unum,
  Æthiopes alt'rum non maluere ducem.
Fortunæ nullus locus hic, fors exulat omnis,
  Hic clavum virtus inclyta sola tenet.

Post Christum in terris numen non sanctius ullum
  Dignatum humanum est visere triste genus.
Auspiciis hujus fusa est Babylonica pestis,
  Quæ tua vastarat, Anglia, regna diu.
Pontificis fracta est Romani dira potestas;
  Pulsa perfidia, perdite Papa, peris.
Perdite Papa, peris: tua vincla repellimus omnes;
  Exhorret nomen Anglia tota tuum,
Hujus et auspiciis Christi sunt reddita sacra
  Biblia, quæ tenebris delituere diu.
Hinc rectumque fidesque patent, hinc munera quævis,
  Quid rex, quid Christus, singula quidque sient.
Nunc sileant prisci Mavortia facta tyranni,
  Alcides, Bacchus, cætera turba ducum.
Alcides Jovis est, servit tua dextera Christo,
  Auspice sunt Christo cuncta peracta tibi.
His tantum præstant nostri stratagemata regis,
  Quantum tu præstas, optime Christe, Jovi.
Imperiumque tuum Christus, tibi singula Christus,
  In gladio Christus, Christus in ore sedet.
Ergo diu vivas decus et tutela Britanni
  Nominis, et princeps, præsidiumque soli,
Vivas et Catharina diu, tu diva virago,
  Et videat Pylii sæcula uterque senis.
Vivat et Edvardus princeps, spes altera regni,
  Henrici patris pignora summa sui.
Hæc nos, hæc, Henrice, tibi gens tota precatur,
  Hoc studium populi suscipe, quæsó, tui.

In anniversarium natalem diem Edvardi principis.

Ut gliscit mens mea
Sumere nova gaudia,
Promere nova cantica
Lætis carminibus!
Philyris mea tempora,
Citharis mea pectora,
Sint lepidis omnia
Plena veneribus.
Profani cedite,
Procul hinc jam næniæ,
Procul hinc querimoniæ,
Luctus et odia.
Salibus et joculis
Fabulis et poculis,
Dapibus et epulis,
Sint plena omnia.
Edvardi principis
Natalis nobilis,
Reductus annuis
Solis reflexubus,
Renovat nova tempora,
Reparat nova gaudia,
Abstergens tristia
Nostris pectoribus:
Sub te nunc principe,
O princeps inclyte,
Edvarde maxime,
Floreat tranquillitas,
Redeunt jam tempora,
Aureaque sæcula,

Jam Anglis splendida,
Redit felicitas.
Romana bestia,
Et fæx dogmatica,
Procul hinc procul omnia
Facessant impia.
Quies et pax inclyta,
Salus et mens consona,
Sua jam tabernacula
Ponunt in Anglia.
O decus Angliæ !
O metus Scotiæ !
O terror Galliæ !
O princeps maxime!
Sis patri, sis patriæ,
Henrico et Angliæ,
Longo solamini,
O princeps optime !
Sis fautor literis,
Sis author studiis,
Musarum otiis
Et Cantabrigiæ.
Sic pater sic est tuus
Henricus optimus,
Princeps nobilissimus,
Consuetus facere.
O spes, O pignora !
O patris, O patriæ,
O salus unica !
Tuis temporibus.
Floreas diu prospere,
Decus et spes patriæ,
Vivas diu integre,
Sæclis perennibus.

Oremus precibus,
Ad cœlum manibus,
Et votis omnibus,
Ut Angliæ solem:
Qui trinus et unus est,
Qui solus, qui bonus est,
Servet, qui potens est,
Edvardum principem.

DIALOGUS ἐπιτάφιος

IN OBITUM

CLARISSIMI VIRI ANTONII DENNES.

Interloquutores Ξένος, Ἀγγλία.

Ξ. Καί τις γυνὴ πενθῶδες ἠμφιεσμένη;
A. Ὀλβία ποτ' ἀλλὰ νῦν τρίσαλγος Αγγλία.
Ξ. Εὐφήμει.
A. Οὕτως ἔστιν.
Ξ. Αἴτιον δὲ τί;
A. Ἄγει με καὶ φέρει κακὸν θεήλατον.
Ξ. Τί λιμός;
A. Οὐκ.
Ξ. Ἡ λοιμός;
A. Οὐδαμῶς μεν οὐ.
Ξ. Ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πολεμος;
A. Μα Δι'.
Ξ. Οὐ μεῖζον κακόν.

A. Πολὺ μεῖζον, ὡς φασίν Προφητῆς καὶ Πλάτων.
Ξ. Τί ποτε τί ἐστ᾽;
A. Ὅταν μεν ἐξαίρει Θεός
Τῆς γῆς ἄριστον ἄνδρα, φεῦ μεγεθους κακοῦ.
Ξ. Ἐξειλέ τινα.
A. Οἰμοι τάλαινα, οἴχεται.
Βέλτιστος ἀνδρῶν ὧν πόθ᾽ ἥλιος βλεπει
Ἀντώνιος Δενναῖος, Ἀγγλίας κλέος.
Ξ. Ποῖος μὲν;
A. Οἷος; φιλόπολις καὶ θεόφιλος,
Νοῶν δέοντα, καὶ λέγων νοούμενα,
Καὶ χρημάτων κρείττων, καὶ ἥσσων οὐδενὸς
Φαύλου, πεφυκὼς πᾶσιν ἄλλοις χρήσιμος,
Σχεδόν τι αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ὠφελούμενος.
Ξ. Τί νῦν ποιεῖ;
A. Μεγίστῳ εὔχομαι Θεῷ.
Ξ. Τί πρῶτον αἰτεῖς;
A. Τί; θανόντι συνθανεῖν
Μετέχουσα καλῶν ὧν ἐκεῖνος τυγχάνει.
Ξ. Τί δευτερον;
A. Πάλιν αὖθις αὐτὸν εἰς βίον
Ἐλθεῖν ἂν; Ἀγγλοῖς τοῖσι νῦν πόθος μέγα.
Ξ. Τί φιλτάτοις αἰτεῖς δὲ σοῖς;
A. Εἰς τὸν Θέον
Τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ, εἰς βασιλέα τόνδε νοῦν,
Εἰς κοῖνον αὖ μελετὴν, φιλοὶς βιοῦσι μὲν
Τοίους τρόπους, θανοῦσι δ᾽ αὖ τοῖον τέλος.

CARMEN CARMINI REDDITUM LATINE.

Hospes. Quæ tristis hæc est velle pulla femina?
Anglia. Olim beata, nunc miserrima Anglia.
Hos. Meliora Dii!
Ang. Sic est.
Hos. Refer causam mihi.
Ang. Graviter premit me cœlitus missum malum.
Hos. Famesne?
Ang. Minime.
Hos. Pestis?
Ang. Haud illud quidem.
Hos. At Mars?
Ang. Nequaquam.
Hos. Gravius his nullum est malum.
Ang. Ah! gravius, ut Propheta memorat et Plato.
Hos. Tandem quid est?
Ang. Quando optimos tollit Deus
Viros, id offensissimum arguit Deum.
Hos. Quem sustulit?
Ang. Me miserum! eheu nuper perît
Vir optimus, quos sol vidit, vir optimus:
Antonius Dennæus, Angliæ decus.
Hos. Qualis fuit?
Ang. Patriam colens, colens Deum,
Menti probatæ sermo consonus fuit,
Nummis superior, abstinens, purus mali,
Aliis quibusvis multa comparans bona.
Soli sibi prodesse tardus et pudens.
Hos. Quid nunc agis?
Ang. Ter maximum precor Deum.
Hos. Primum petens quid?
Ang. Commori illi mortuo,
Ejus beatæ facta sortis particeps.

Hos. Quid proximum?
Ang. Ut superstes ille denuo
Remigret in lucem, quod optat Anglia.
Hos. Quid intimis petis tuis?
Ang. Erga Deum
Ejus fidem, erga principem mentem integram,
In publicam rem, curam, amicis posteris
Mores suaves, mortuis talem exitum.

DIALOGUS *Ἐπιτάφιος*

IN OBITUM LECTISSIMÆ MULIERIS MARIÆ CECILLÆ, UXORIS CLARISSIMI VIRI GULIELMI CECILLI ET JOANNIS CHECI SORORIS.

Interloquutores—*Vita, Mors, Maria Cecilla.*

Vita. Quid sic jaces suspensa dubio pectore?
Utrum eligenda vita sit vel mors tibi?
Hanc pelle curam, dirimam hanc litem brevi.
Ego beata; cuncta mors miscet mala,
Ego læta, suavis; mors gravis, trux, horrida.
Ætasne sic florens abibit? Sic decus
Formæ peribit splendidæ? quin respicis
Ad me potius, et disce quanta commoda
Ex me capesses. Longa primum tempora,
Et larga rerum te beabit copia,
Latusque dulcis turma cinget liberûm.
Vir qualis Æmon fuerat Antigonæ suæ,
Talis tibi est: fraterque doctorum chorum
Sic vincit, ut minora Luna sidera.

Viget parens veneranda, germanæ vigent,
Quum tanta me sequuntur ergo commoda,
Ne tu relinquas tanta, si sapis, bona.
Mors. Quæ pollætur Vita, non dabit tibi.
Quid umbra, pulvis, bulla, quid fumus daret?
Incerta quæ sit, certa præstaret bona?
Quæ vana sunt, caduca, fluxa, perfida,
Vires, voluptas, forma, lucra, gloria,
Vita hac fluunt ac refluunt, instar maris,
Quod ventus ater voluit imo gurgite,
Fortuna, spes, fraus, cura, soliciti metus,
Humana cuncta agunt feruntque tempora,
His Vita ducibus usa, gressus labiles
Semper ciet, semper vagatur lubrica,
Quo Vita plures voluit annorum vices,
Hoc gravius animos turbat hominum miseriis,
Seges malorum crescit indies nova.
Ergo sapiens Menander: "Hic curæ est Deo,
Quem prima dulci lux sinu matris rapit."
Fallacis igitur ac fugacis aurulæ
Usura, naturæ parenti reddita,
Ne tua fatiget amplius præcordia.
En, certa Mors, quæ certa largior bona,
Adsum tuis finem datura miseriis:
Gravium laborum meta, gratus ultimæ
Portus quietis, ordo fatalis viæ,
Quam pedibus æquis cuncta calcabit caro.
Extremus omnis medicus ægritudinis,
Vitæ fugacis finis, æternæ gradus,
Clavis salutis, qua, recluso carcere
Mortis perennis, Christus omnium salus,
Iter salutis pandit omnibus piis,
Ergo bonis et incertis certa præferas,
Vitæ cadentis fluxa linques commoda:

Et me capesses læta, namque ego brevi
Vitam dabo, quam Vita non dabit tibi.

Maria Cecilla respondet.

Utrinque sat dictum est : silete, vivitur.
Satis placet Mors, Vita non placet mihi,
Nam Vita non est vita, vita quæ fuit,
Sed bulla in aures lapsa flatiles levis.
Quæ Vita dat, vires, opes, anni decus,
Fallacis ævi mera sunt ludibria,
Mihi vita solus Christus est, hic omnia :
Hic vir, parens, frater, sorores, liberi,
Ut, Christe, sinu isthæe relinquam singula,
Sic vivere juvat, grande sic lucrum mori,
Nec me fugacis cura vitæ detinet :
Vixi satis, quod, Christe, sat vixi tibi.

GULIELMO BILLO

SODALI SUO CANDIDISSIMO.

O Bille belle, χαῖρε, mi bellissime !
Quum sol Capri nivosa linquit cornua,
Udaque vultum spargit unda splendidum,
Circumque de integro retexens annuum,
Mos est vetustis devolutus sæculis,
Vel inter ipsos perpetuatus rusticos,
Mittendo mutua humanitatis symbola,
Ista revocare caritatis fœdera :
Nos ergo, Bille belle mi bellissime,
Quos inter arcta vincla stringunt pectora :
Quos inter eadem mens, voluntas consona,
Nos ista sacra nos sinamus orgia,

Ab usque prisco deglomerata tempore,
Sic spreta nobis, sic jacere sordida!
Hoc, Bille, faciunt, quos juvat discors dea,
Quos mens amens edaxque livor distrahit,
Quæ turba nimium crescit indies mala,
Heu facinus ingens, heu malum auditu grave!
Quos Christus unit, hos separet discordia!
Quos literæ ornent, fœdet hos mens fellea!
Nos fata nos meliora, Bille, ducimus,
Uterque nostrum Pieridum gaudet choro,
Deæ Latinæ nos, deæ Parnasides,
Fovent, amant, et indies juvant magis.
Uterque Checum, utrumque Checus diligit.
Quod in bonis summis ego locaverim.
Nos ergo quos tam firma jungunt vincula,
Summique amoris summa nectant fœdera:
Sic usque firmius adglutinemus pectora.
Quæ fundit ergo nostra musa carmina
Incompta, rudia, vasta, dura, exsanguia,
Sunt certa nostri, Bille, amoris pignora.
Quæ si serena fronte capias, ut soles,
Nil petimus aliud, sic habemus omnia,
O Bille belle mi, vale, bellissime.

R. A. IN DOMINUM BUCERUM COMMIGRANTEM EX HOC VITÆ EXILIO IN VERAM PATRIAM.

Æmula Teutonicæ quum inviderat Anglia genti,
Bucerum abducit: Cœlum indignatur, "Iniquum"
Exclamans "factum; meus est!" rapit, avolat: omnes
Nunc omnes stupidi frendentque fremantque papistæ.

Omnibus invitis furiis, Bucerus ab isto
Exilio liber, demumque solutus in altum
Sublimis, patriam veram petit æthera, cujus
Cœlestis factus, Christo regnare cohæres.

In eundem.

Dum mens nostra gravi carnis depressa gemiscit
  Mole hac: dum mundi fulmina dira fremunt;
Dum fraudes tendit Satanas, dum vincla minatur,
  Non patria est, non urbs, non domus ulla piis.
Quicquid delirant ventres, stolidique papistæ,
  Hæc vox, Paule, tua est, vita, Bucere, tua est.
Desinat exilium Babylonica carpere turba,
  An civis, quisquis non prius exul, erit?
Civis erit cœli nemo, qui haud exulat ante:
  O gratum exilium, quum dare tanta soles:
Exilio cedat patria ergo, vitaque morti,
  Quæ patria et vita hæc non dabit, illa dabunt,
Exilium grata tulit ergo mente Bucerus,
  Optatam patriam quum dedit exilium.

AD DIVAM ELIZABETHAM,

pro insequentis anni felici auspicio.

Salve, diva, tuæ patriæ decus, optima, salve,
Princeps Elizabetha, tuis dea magna Britannis:
Pande tuis jam fausta novi nova tempora secli
Civibus, imperium placidum, mundumque benignum,
Lætaque temporibus nostris da tempora, diva.
Tu Britonum, tu sola salus, tu sola columna

Doctrinæ veræ Christi, sanctæque magistræ
Vitæ; tu vitæ lex intemerata pudicæ.
Tu propugnatrix belli, tu pacis alumna
Perpetuæ, morum moderatrix, regula legum.
Principe nam sub te, sic sacrosancta potestas
Legum cuncta regit, nunc ut dominetur ubique
Consilium, non vis; ratio, non cæca voluntas.
Nec vis dura premit legum, nec gratia crimen
Laxat, projecti sceleris tolerantia nulla est,
Sic mediique modique tamen rarissima cultrix;
Ut mage sis jurisve tenax, vel amantior æqui,
Sit dubium, tanto moderamine cuncta tuêris.
Ensis nec justis metus est, sed terror iniquis:
Nec cives urges odio, sed ducis amore:
Quoque metus minor est, tanto est reverentia major:
Teque tui metuunt et amant, pariterque timeris,
Diligerisque simul: nec tu diffidis amari,
Nec cupis ut facias, facit ut vis dira tyranni.
Et licet ad summum rerum tua summa potestas
Pervenit, majora tamen, quam maxima quæ sunt,
Conditor omnipotens rerum tibi contulit uni.
Munera fortunæ naturæ munera vincunt,
Omnia sed virtus superat, fateantur ut omnes
Te dignam esse cuï vasti moderamina mundi
Cunctarum et rerum commendarentur habenæ.
Sceptraque quid stulti mirantur mascula regum?
Gallica quid posthac jactent sua fœdera Galli?
Rex aliis Mars mas, nobis tu femina Pallas
Præsidias, præsisque diu tu docta Minerva,
Anglia si multas similes ferat, Anglia posthac
Sollicito repetat cur sceptra virilia voto?
Regnat vis ubi vir regnat, Regesque propinqui,
Et Suecus et Danus, gens Belgica, Gallus, Iberus,
Sunt testes, qui nil aliud cogitantve studentve,

Quam misero miserum populum consumere bello.
Mascula nam virtus, magnorum et turba virorum,
Magnanimi, fortes, animosi, lumina regum:
Cyrus, Alexander, Pompeius, Cæsar, et omnes,
Fulmina sunt belli, tristis sunt pondera mundi,
En res humanas misero qui turbine volvunt,
Imperiumque virile et mascula sceptra sequuntur;
Exilia, et spolia, et tristis confusio rerum:
Ferrum, flamma, fames, sanguis, cædesque cruentæ,
Intestinorum series et longa malorum,
Quæ sæpe et tulit et vidit flens Anglia: sed tu
Virgineus flos, fœmineum decus, optima princeps,
Aurea Saturni revocas jam tempora prisci:
Virgineoque tuo ductu, clarissima virgo,
Virgineæ redeunt virtutes, primaque virtus,
Publica justitia est, regni tutissima custos:
Hanc sequitur bonitas, sequitur clementia læta,
Castaque temperies, castæ comes optima vitæ.
Imperiumque tuum ducibus virtutibus istis,
Sic grato populi studio, sic plebis amore
Firmas firmatumque tenes, ut nulla potestas,
Sive erit ingratus civis, sive exterus hostis,
Te regnante queat nobis infligere damnum,
Virginea hæc ætas sæclo collata priori,
Præsens præteritis tanto est præstantior ætas,
Annos si repetas animo bis mille peractos,
Anglia quando fuit regno subjecta virili,
Femineæ ut laudi tantum laus mascula cedat,
Et princeps præsens tantum nostra unica multos
Virgo viros superet, quantum sol lumina vincit
Cætera, vel quantum luces tu, luna, minores.
Omnia tuta domi, foris et vis nulla timetur.
Ast, heu fando nefas, alios pia viscera nostra,
Nostros vicinos, Christi quos fœdera, quosque

Una fides, quos una salus, quos dira pericla
Conjungunt nobis nimium furor impius urget.
Sus Romana furit, rabies Babylonica sævit,
Sanguineasque minas spirat sua vota cruore
Jam sperat saturare pio, sanguisque piorum
Vindictam votisque piis precibusque reposcit.
Una et conspirant Olophernus et impius Hammon,
Jam Cacus et Geryon, tristis monstra horrida mundi,
Consilium, vires, fraudes, atque omnia jungunt,
Ut, quicunque suum nomen tibi, Christe, dedere,
Omnes e medio tollantur, ut omnia mundi,
Ut reges cogant papæ juga dura subire.
Atque ut perficiant scelera hæc, scelera omnia tentant.
Tristia quam nunc sunt passim pia vota piorum.
Quos tot circumstant gravium discrimina rerum?
Circumcirca volat tristis fax horrida belli:
Ardent vicini, nec res, sed vita piorum
Nunc agitur, rabiesque pios sese armat in omnes:
Reque licet petat hos, at spe jam devorat omnes,
Omnes, quos versæ fidei pia fœdera jungunt,
Leges naturæ violant et fœdera sacri
Conjugii rumpunt; juris jura omnia solvunt.
Hic propriam sobolem tollit, necat illa maritum,
Non parcunt propriis, aliis hi parcere possunt?
Et nondum natos tollunt, jam jam morituros
Obtrudunt morti; nec est veneranda senectus,
Nec tenera est ætas, tutum quæ reddere possit,
O tristem rerum faciem! mors ipsa stupore
Aspicit hanc rerum faciem, facieque reflexa
Respicit horribilem hanc indignabunda tyrannim.
Ardent vicini: quid nos spectamus inertes
Nunc spectatores, actores forte futuri?
Huc volitat fumus, dubiumne an flamma sequatur.
Alterius, si non propriæ, sed cura salutis

Nos moveat tantos rerum non temnere motus.
Nam misero hoc motu, misero hoc discrimine rerum,
Quo totus diris odiis discinditur orbis,
Non rex, non populus, non gens, non natio, non est,
Non urbs, non privata domus, non femina, non vir,
Non sexus, non ætas, quin discordibus omnes
Distractisque animis studia in diversa trahantur.
Sed quorsum tandem tanta hæc discordia tendit?
Hoc in temporibus solum contenditur istis,
Aut papa, impietas, vis, via, furorque malorum:
Aut Christus, pietas, et vita salusque bonorum,
Sunt possessuri jam jam moderamina rerum.
Nil videt is qui non videt hæc, sed cæcutit ipse
Cernens, et tenebras rebus prætendit apertis:
Quique secus sentit, nil sentit, vel male sentit.
Hostis non civis, licet is pia nomina civis
Jactet, qui clam, sub specioso nomine pacis,
Voce gerit pacem, voto fremit horrida bella;
Optat spe turbas, volvat licet ore quietem.
Nec facies una est scelerum, simplexve malorum:
Mille manus, et mille pedes, et mille noçendi
Artes improbitas habet hæc: tantum nec aperta
Vis nocet, involucris quantum fraus tecta dolosis.
Cogere si ferrum nequeat fraus, adhibet aurum
Bestia, septenis munitum collibus antrum
Quæ tenet, et mundi meretrix Babylonica reges,
Quæ sibi subjecit, quæ jam sic territat orbem,
Quæ jam cunctorum solvit sua claustra malorum
Auri præsidio, quod nunc gens impia mittit
India, tu sæclo, tu non audita priori,
O si temporibus non esses cognita nostris:
O tua quam multos inopes opulentia reddit!
Quam multos miseros facit et tua copia rerum!
Auri namque tui nimia est fraus, decipit orbem,

Si quid sit rectum, si quid siet utile, vires.
Vel tollit, vel diminuit, vel distrahit aurum.
Fidus si quis sit, si quis conjunctior alt'ro,
Tolli si nequeat ferro, violabitur auro,
Aurum si violare potest ; majoraque tentat :
Publica consilia, et privata cubicula regum,
Aulæ magnatum, quid non divenditur auro ?
Aurum quo penetrare potest ? O regia felix,
In qua non aurum regnat nec decipit : in qua
Usibus humanis regina pecunia servit :
Ast nimis hæc ætas præsens nimis aurea hæc est,
Terrea sique esset, melior et tutior esset,
Nunc nimium nimiumque potest : nunc omnia turbat.
Publica solicitis permiscet tempora curis,
Omnia privatæ tollit bona gaudia vitæ,
Cordaque multorum miseris cruciatibus opplet.
At quo nostra ruis nimium querebunda Camœna,
Has tristes voces alieno tempore fundens !
Læta ast sunt lætis tribuenda hæc tempore rebus.
Hæc mens, hoc studium nostrum fuit, optima princeps,
Ut suscepta pie pia nostra et justa querela,
Non tibi tristitiam moveat, sed suscitet iram,
Ut dura hæc facies, et fata hæc tristia mundi
Sint tibi virtutum stimuli, sint semina laudis,
Perpetuum et nomen pariant, famamque perennem.
Namquæ laus major, quam si pia vota piorum
Solêris, monitis felix, vel viribus ultrix,
Consilio pacans, vel frangens viribus hostes ?
Hæc sola, hæc nostri solaminis ultima spes est :
Inque hac spe sola spem nostram condimus omnem.

Hæc carmina paucis ante mortem diebus inchoavit, 1566, mense Decembris, quæ in initium novi anni insequentis præparaverat : sed, in hisce condendis, morbo correptus, e vita excessit, et sic ea imperfecta reliquit. [*Grant's original note.*]

GRANT'S ORATION

ON THE

LIFE AND DEATH OF ROGER ASCHAM,

With Dedicatory Letter to Queen Elizabeth, and Address to the Reader.

SERENISSIMÆ POTENTISSIMÆQUE PRINCIPI ELIZABETHÆ, ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ REGINÆ, &c. COLLEGII WESTMONASTERIENSIS ET SCHOLÆ LIBERALISSIMÆ FUNDATRICI.*

Tribus fere abhinc annis, serenissima princeps, nobilissimus heros Dominus BURGHLEIUS, summus Angliæ thesaurarius, majestatis tuæ præclarissimus thesaurus, ROGERI ASCHAMI præceptoris olim tui perdilectus amicus, domino Doctori GOODMANNO, collegii tui Westmonasteriensis dignissimo decano, per literas commendavit ÆGIDIUM ASCHAMUM, ejusdem ROGERI ASCHAMI filium natu maximum, ut in tuorum hic alumnorum numerum adscriberetur. Tanti viri et de nostro collegio et schola tam optime meriti literis et commendatione, ac patris sui optimi et pereruditi viri majestati tuæ de meliori nota cogniti caussa, nos omnes permoti, eum gratis animis recepimus, et constituto nostræ electionis tempore, in eorum numerum cooptavimus, qui regalibus tuis stipendiis hic apud nos enutriuntur et bonis literis operam navant. Erat equidem vigilantissimo decano, doctissimis præbendariis, et mihi gratus et acceptus: et eo nomine nobis omnibus gratior, quod multis jam præterlapsis annis patrem ROGERUM

* This dedication is much abridged in Grant's fourth edition of the *Epistolæ*, 1578.

ASCHAMUM adolescentiam tuam bonis literis effinxisse et informasse, ingeniumque illud tuum immortalitate dignum liberalibus artibus excoluisse intelligebamus, et proximis superioribus annis eo honorato in loco majestati tuæ inservisse animadvertebamus, quo antea, regnante Regina MARIA, majestatis tuæ sorore carissima, perfungebatur.

Per hunc ÆGIDIUM ASCHAMUM bonæ spei puerum, paternæ virtutis et eruditionis spero hæredem, in manus meas pervenerunt varia eaque pererudita scripta, ejusdem Rogeri propria manu exarata, suavi ut multi existimant, mira ut ego judico orationis elegantia et structura contexta. Inter ea quasdam literas, quas olim ille vivus ad majestatem tuam aliosque nobilissimos viros et ornatissimos amicos miserit, admodum libenter et magna cum admiratione legebam. Libenter quidem, quia ex illis, quanti tuam majestatem fecerit, quantis laudibus excellentiæ tuæ ingenium, indolem, ad literas imbibendas propensionem, et in omni excellenti virtute studium et prudentiam ornaverit, penitus intellexi: cum admiratione vero, partim quia nihil in eo genere uberius, nihil aptius, nihil suavius, nihil magis omnibus luminibus illustratum fieri poterat; partim autem quod tam illustre scribendi genus ad tuam ornandam majestatem contulerit. Quæ omnia scripta, miro orationis lepore condita, quum plene pergustassem, statui continuo mecum transcribere, et ex variis chartulis, quæ prima fuerunt exemplaria, in unum cœpi fasciculum elegantissimas colligere, quo majorem in illis legendis et pervolven(volupta-tem caperem [*et*] utilitatem nonnullam et f n studiis perciperem. Hæc sic collecta c) a-bam multis, scribendi genus laudabam pluri tendebam etiam nonnullis qui et ipsi e

judicio præstant, ac auctoritate possunt plurimum: qui me et verbis allicere, quum auctoritate cogere et beneficiis in me collocatis impellere possent, et quotidianis persuasionibus commovere cœperunt, ut ego illas peruditas epistolas in omnium studiosorum et nostratium et exterorum gratiam excudi curarem. Ad horum etiam persuasiones accessit nobilissimi viri Domini BURGHLEII approbatio, qui et ea videbat libentissime, et meum in ea re conatum, quæ sua est prudentia, non vituperabat. Horum ego allectus verbis et incitatus suasu, malui hæc ROGERI ASCHAMI scripta, inepto licet a me ordine disposita, in hominum oculos emittere ac in publicam Latinæ linguæ studiosorum utilitatem divulgare, quam pati, ut diutius domi apud me in abditis musei mei angulis delitescerent et blattas et tineas perpetuo depascerent. Nolo certe in alios videri injuriosus, quum sine meo damno multis possim prodesse et nonnullos adjuvare plurimum. Sed quum de illis, communi jam et recepta scribentium consuetudine, dedicandis cogitarem; et de Bellona quæ defenderat, et de Pallade, quæ sua ægide contra cruentos hostes protegeret et circumcirca communiret, altius mecum animo agitarem; veniebat statim in mentem mihi majestatis tuæ, princeps excellentissima, quæ olim eo es usa præceptore; et qua illius nunc demortui scripta possint uti contra clandestinos nonnullorum ictus et latratus potentissima patrona. Quæ et ea voluntate et humanitate abundas, ut paratissime velis hujusmodi epistolarum defensionem suscipere: et ea doctrina et eruditione flores, ut cupidissime soleas præclaros conatus acerrime propugnare: ac, quod omnium est maximum, ea auctoritate, potentia, viribus præstas, ut facillime possis invidorum hominum non ferendas intolerantias vel vultu comprimere, et impro-

borum ac indoctorum insolentiam et nimiam audaciam vel nutu retundere et profligare.

Fuit enim excellentiæ tuæ probe perspecta ROGERI ASCHAMI probitas, prudentia, usus rerum, industria, orationis suavitas, scribendi sacultas et promptitudo, et præcipua etiam in tuam majestatem observantia atque fides. Cui ille omnia non solum amoris officia, sed honoris etiam ornamenta libenter detulit; quæ vel ejus erga tuam majestatem amor, vel tui tantæ principis dignitas postulare videbatur. In Anglia complurimi, in Germania multi, in Gallia et Italia non pauci, in Lusitania præcipue unus HIERONYMUS OSORIUS, ex literis ultro citroque missitatis, probe intellexerunt, quo studio, animo, observantia ROGERUS ASCHAMUS tuam celsitudinem semper est prosequutus. Is enim egregiæ virtutis, et eruditionis laudibus homo ornatissimus, omnem suam voluntatem, operam, orationem, ad majestatis tuæ dotes exornandas et excellentiæ tuæ laudes illustrandas, et decantandas semper aggregavit. Felicem te judicant multi, quæ talem habuisti præceptorem: feliciorem ego multo existimo eum, ut olim JOANNES STURMIUS Argentoratensis de te ad illum scripsit, cui talis contigit discipula. Cujus ingenium in concipiendo divinum et admirabile; memoria in retinendo felix, fixa, stabilis; voluntas in discendo permagna; studium in progrediendo avidum; animus ad laborandum promptus, industria ad quasvis devorandas molestias paratissima. Cujus etiam in omni florentissimi regni obeunda ratione, tanta elucet quum veræ prudentiæ laus, tum summæ nobilitatis amplitudo, ut feliciorne sis, vel quia nata es ex tam illustri principe HENRICO octavo patre, vel quia instituta es a tam prudentibus præceptoribus, GUILIELMO inprimis GRINDALLO, ROGERI ASCHAMI pupillo, laudatissimo

quidem juvene; ac deinde a ROGERO ASCHAMO ejus tutore, non possum facile quidem statuere. Hic pupillus in te docendo primum locum occupavit, non sine omni fortasse tutoris consilio. Sequutus est pupillum tutor omni eruditionis laude cumulatissimus, qui et illam perfecit doctrinæ effigiem, quam ille alter et primus APELLES tantum inchoaverat, nondum ad finem immatura morte correptus perduxerat. Inauditum hoc et valde admirabile, ut post APELLEM alius pictor exsurgeret, qui in ejus suffectus locum, et posset optime, et pertentaret felicissime, admirabilem illam oris pulchritudinem reliquarum corporis partium accessione illustrare, et splendidioribus coloribus nobiliorique artificio reliqua lineamenta exprimere, delineare, et perficere. Superavit hic APELLEM APELLES, et erat inventus APELLES APELLE superior; hoc nullus unquam pictor efficere potuit. Neque hi fuerunt imaginum, sed mentium pictores, non penicillo sed ingenio, non coloribus sed eruditione et artibus hanc duxerunt imaginem mentis tuæ, prudentissima ELIZABETHA. Deus bone, quæ est hæc doctrinæ effigies, quam admirandum artificium, quod undique omnibus numeris, omnibus partibus et coloribus est absolutissimum! Quæ quum ita se habeant, cui ego potius eruditissimi præceptoris eruditas elucubrationes consecrarem, quam eruditissimæ ejusdem discipulæ? Cui prius fidelissimi servi et humillimi subjecti perdoctas epistolas dedicarem, quam nobilissimæ principi, gratissimæ et humanissimæ reginæ? Cui denique citius offerrem ROGERI ASCHAMI perjucunda scripta, quam serenissimæ ELIZABETHÆ, ejusdem ROGERI amplissimæ, liberalissimæ carissimæ dominæ? Offero igitur majestati tuæ has epistolas magna orationis suavitate conditas, et dulci sententiarum concinnitate conscriptas: quæ certe et ROGERI ASCHAMI qui

scripsit, singularis erga tuam serenitatem studii manifestum testimonium; ac paratissimæ meæ, qui non sine omni labore collegi et disposui, erga tuam celsitudinem observantiæ officiique apertissimum argumentum esse possunt. Atque cum hisce patris epistolis suscipe quæso, clementissima princeps, in tuam tutelam hunc ROGERI filium ÆGIDIUM ASCHAMUM, pauperem quidem, et ab amicis inopem, ac benigna liberalitate tua effice perpetuo tuum. Amisit patrem qui filium tueretur, qui utilitati consuleret, qui sumptibus educandum et in Academia instituendum curaret. Amisit inquam, patrem, benignum patrem, eruditum patrem, et voluntate ad auxiliandum paratum, et amore ad tuendum et ornandum filium satis inflammatum. Habet matrem suæ educationis satis studiosam: sed ad institutionis sumptus sustentandos non satis habilem et potentem. At quid de felici hujus pueri in bonis literis progressu dubitamus, quum tuam habeat majestatem patris demortui memorem, ROGERI ASCHAMI amplissimam dominam, ac orphanorum benignissimam matrem! Hunc igitur puerum, et parente orbum, et amicis destitutum, majestatis tuæ mando et committo fidei: ac mirum in modum oro, ut eum accipias, acceptum serves, ut dixit ille apud comicum adolescentulus. Tu potes quantum vis, velis igitur quantum potes, nec patere divinam tuam in hunc ROGERI ASCHAMI filium benignitatem claudier. Deus enim optimus te, optima princeps, nobis Anglis tuis, primum ad religionem quasi expiandam: ad impietatis fibras radicitus extrahendas, Christique gloriam latissime propagandam restituit, deinde ad inopes sustentandos, ad gymnasia fovenda et constabilienda, ad literas excitandas, scholasticosque tuis largissimis beneficiis e solo et pulvere ad summum literarum fastigium erigen-

dos suscitavit, ac postremo ad immortalem famam nominisque celebritatem et perennem et nunquam morituram gloriam ex hostium crudelissimorum faucibus reservavit. Sed quo vehor? Sum, fateor, longior quam institueram. Sed in hanc me loquacitatem conjecit hic ÆGIDIUS ASCHAMUS discipulus meus, tuus, spero, futurus, beneficiis tuis astrictior. Mallem equidem, clementissima princeps, honesta petendo videri nimis molestus et insigniter impudens, quam discipulum deserendo nimis ingratus haberi. Si majestas tua, ea qua es clementia et liberalitate, huic petitioni acquieverit, et divinas aures ad has obscurissimi hominis supplicationes arrexerit; huic puero rem valde utilem, matri gratam et optatam, sed dignitate ac majestate tua dignissimam fecisse videberis. Accipe igitur rursus, illustrissima regina, hæc quæ ego offero observantiæ et officii mei erga tuam excellentiam testimonia: ac scribentis præclaram indolem egregiumque in literis conscribendis artificium, cum colligentis et in lucem proferentis industria, benigno vultu quæso amplectere. Deus Optimus Maximus tuum felicissimum imperium latissime propaget, et longissime precor perpetuet et proroget; ut vel majorum tuorum HENRICI Tertii, ac EDVARDI Tertii imperandi annos felicissime attingas, vel HENRICI Patris, si humana te fragilitas sinet, triginta octo annorum imperium cum summo tuorum gaudio conduplices. Quod solum nos tui hic collegii membra possumus, a Deo quotidianis precibus valde contendemus, ut salutem omnem et felicem in terris, et perpetuam in cœlis, tuæ majestati sua bonitate concedat. E schola majestatis Westmonasteriensi Februarii xvii, 1576. Serenissimæ majestatis tuæ humillimus servus, et scholæ tuæ Westmonasteriensis moderator, EDVARDUS GRANT.

BENIVOLO LECTORI.

Epistolas omnes, optime lector, prima editione impressas in tres distribui libros: primus eas complectitur, quas ad ornatissimum disertissimumque virum JOANNEM STURMIUM ARGENTORATENSIS Academiæ rectorem scripserit; suaves illas quidem, et summa elegantia conscriptas, dulci lepore et mira orationis venustate conditas. Has ego præposui, non quod tempore erant priores aut antea ad JOANNEM STURMIUM missæ, quam aliæ quæ secundo libro sequuntur ad alios scriptæ: sed eo consilio de industria hoc feci, quod et literarum longitudine, et orationis præstantia cæteras præcedunt. Et fateor equidem illam primam epistolam *De Imitatione*, primo libro præfixam, commovisse me, ut literas postremo missas priore libro collocarem. Liber secundus eas literas continet, quas ad amicos miserit, quum Cantabrigiæ bonis literis ad suam magnam gloriam, ad illustrissimæ ELIZABETHÆ felicem in literis progressum, ad totius reipublicæ maximam utilitatem, felicissime operam navaret. Tertius eas comprehendit, quas et post abitionem ex Anglia in Germaniam, et à reditu ex Germania in Angliam, ad amicos dederit. Neque hic omnes in sua propria loca eo quo erant tempore scriptæ, detrusi et compegi: hoc enim fieri a me non poterat, nec a BEMBO, SADOLETO, LONGOLIO, aut P. MANUTIO hoc observatum video. Nam multæ defuerunt, variæ amissæ, complurimæ aut combustæ, aut nonnullorum incuria laceratæ, nonnullæ in eorum manibus, ad quas erant scriptæ: ita per omnia tempus et ordinem nullo modo observare possem. Habes igitur perelegantes epistolas, sed ineleganter et inornate a me dispositas. Hisce tribus

familiarium epistolarum libris, prima editione excusis, adjunxi commendatitiarum, petitoriarum, et similium hujus generis epistolarum, aliorum nomine, ad alios conscriptarum, librum unum. Quæ certe ex eadem officina prodiere, et eandem orationis suavitatem redolere videantur. Addidi hac postrema editione JOANNIS STURMII, HIERONYMI OSORII aliorumque epistolas ad ROGERUM ASCHAMUM, aliosque nobiles Anglos missas. Eas omnes, et prius editas et nunc postremo adjunctas, eo tu animo, optime lector, complectere ut soles: sic rem et tibi utilem, et mihi non ingratam feceris. Bene vale.

Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.

AD ADOLESCENTULOS LATINÆ LINGUÆ STUDIOSOS,

EDVARDI GRANT

ORATIO DE VITA ET OBITU ROGERI ASCHAMI, AC EJUS SCRIPTIONIS LAUDIBUS.

Proditum est memoriæ, studiosi adolescentes, OCTAVIUM AUGUSTUM, imperatorem Romanum, et artibus excultum et rerum gestarum gloria florentem, egregium illud et memorabile PUBLII VIRGILI MARONIS Æneidos opus, ad poetæ perennem famam, ad literariæ reipublicæ summum fructum et ad Maroniani nominis perpetuam celebritatem, ab igne et flamma conservasse. Moriens enim, ut probe meministis, PUBLIUS MARO testamento jussit, ut illud opus nondum ad finem perductum igne consumeretur. Sed putavit prudentissimus princeps, poetæ nomini consultius et omni posteritati salubrius fore, si tot labores ab igne conservaret, quam ut legum severitati et supremæ MARONIS

voluntati, ad summum literarum detrimentum, ad poetæ perpetuam oblivionem, indulgeret. Quamobrem, subductis utrinque rationibus, et operis utilitate commotus et versuum cremandorum dispendio perterritus, in hæc verba prorupisse dicitur:

> Frangatur potius legum veneranda potestas,
> Quam tot congestos noctesque diesque labores
> Hauserit una dies, vivat Maro doctus ubique,
> Ingratusque sibi, studiorumque invidus orbi,
> Laudetur, vigeat, placeat, relegatur, ametur.

In re fere simili, diversa tamen ratione, excubuerunt omnes cogitationes meæ, omnes curæ, omne studium. Rogerus Aschamus, quem ego ornandum in præsentiarum suscepi, nullum hujusmodi opus in manibus habebat inchoatum. Reliquit hæc scripta, sed multis chartulis dispersa, non in unum fasciculum congesta; hic et illic disseminata, non collecta, nec ordine disposita; non jussit hæc concremari testamento, quæ ego collegi meo studio. Non ab ignibus, sed a blattis et tineis reservavi; non ad meam laudem, cui nulla debetur; sed ad Aschami perennem gloriam, quam obnixe ejus nomini parare conor, in lucem et hominum oculos produxi.

Hæc inprimis ad meam utilitatem, et nonnullam fortasse delectationem, situ fere obducta et crassis obscurata et circumfusa tenebris, collegi. Non ad aliquam hinc aucupandam inanem gloriam, quam vanam et futilem judico; sed ad doctissimi viri perpetuam celebrandam memoriam, quam semper florentissimam esse cupio, divulgavi. Ego ne unquam quidem ullius existimationis tam sitiens, vel Aschami lau[illegible] tam invidens, vel meæ tenuitatis tam im[illegible] [illegible] vel summæ Rogeri As[illegible]mi [illegible] et restrictus æstimator [illegible]

voculas ad inanem quandam et fumosam quærendam laudem committere vellem, vel ad ASCHAMI famam, meo studio perpetuo concelebrandam, nomen meum ad gravissimos casus extremosque ignominiæ scopulos impingere nollem. Qui sic sentiunt, profecto de meo satis pudenti pudore nimis impudenter sentiunt, et quibus rationibus commotus caussisque adductus hæc evulgaverim, non satis prudenter intelligunt. Videmus complurimos hoc factitasse: conspicimus multos talibus rationibus prolectatos, hujusmodi operam in amicorum scriptis colligendis purgandis et eventilandis posuisse. Quid impediet, quo minus ego idem ad meam utilitatem, ad meorum fructum, ad nonnullorum explendam avidam expectationem, in ROGERI ASCHAMI scriptis colligendis et ex tenebris in lucem proferendis, quibus mea nunc opera, ad vestram scio expectationem et fructum spero nonnullum, fruemini, quæ alioqui periissent, feliciter pertentem? An aliquid de his quæ in ROGERO ASCHAMO summa fuerunt detractum erit, si ego in quo omnia sunt vix mediocria, ad laudem nulla, ad eruditionem perexigua, hanc suscipiam provinciam, quam alii, qui melius præstare potuissent, nec attingere propter horum scriptorum penuriam, nec adornare propter laboriosam hujusmodi epistolarum conquisitionem potuerunt? Atque quemadmodum nunquam eram vel excellentis ROGERI ASCHAMI laudis et ingenii tam ignarus quin vehementer exoptarem, ut alii hoc facerent, nec eminentis aliorum eruditionis tam invidens, aut mei obliviscens, ut non semper cognoscerem complurimos et prope innumerabiles utriusque academiæ alumnos, hujusmodi laborum conficientissimos et ad hæc præstanda munera longe aptissimos: sic profecto stultum nimis, puerile, et a communi utilitate abhorrens fuisset, tam durum in meipsum, tam difficilem erga

alios, tam aversum a literaria republica esse, ut putarem me omnino ad hoc adornandum munus ineptum et inutilem esse. Quidni? Nactus hæc scripta ad aliorum fructum in lucem non proferrem? aut conquiescentibus aliis, hunc laborem communis utilitatis gratia subterfugerem? Ad hujus igitur muneris susceptionem non aliqua laudis exspectatio, quam ex PUBLII VIRGILII MARONIS præclaro opere adeptus est OCTAVIUS, me impulit sed voluntas mea ad literas paratissima, studiosorumque adolescentulorum provehenda studia satis propensa, commovit. Res graves et pernecessariæ attrahere me potuissent, utpote summus meus erga ROGERUM ASCHAMUM amor, egregia hominis laus, excellentis doctrinæ admiratio, tacitæ studiosorum de illius ingenio et eloquentia cogitationes; quæ omnia ego non neglexerim, sed privatæ meorum studiorum rationes et animi delectatio, quæ mihi in ejus legendis chartulis obrepserit, ut hunc potissimum laborem susciperem, in primis adduxerunt. In his enim legendis, scribendi suavitate valde delectabar; in litteris perlectitandis, orationis alliciebar lenociniis; in sententiis diligentius appendendis totus in ejus ingenii et doctrinæ admirationem rapiebar; in verborum copia, ornatu et structura intuenda, mira perfundebar voluptate. Transcripsi statim omnia, et variis locis dispersa in unum fasciculum redegi. Ex quo consilio meo operaque in hanc rem collocata, si ulla ad vestra studia utilitas exire atque emanare potuerit; tum satis me laudis paravisse uberemque laboris mei fructum percepisse arbitrabor. Nec hoc a me arroganter factum existimari velim, si de ASCHAMO meo illud carmen valde fortasse amanter prædicem, ut ordine ultimum sic mea sententia dignitate primum et huic meo proposito aptum, quod

de suo VIRGILIO OCTAVIUS valde laudabiliter usurpavit:

Laudetur, vigeat, placeat, relegatur, ametur.

Sed de ASCHAMO meo longior mihi vobiscum instituendus est sermo, ingenui adolescentes. Et de ASCHAMO quidem, et ASCHAMI laudibus et scriptis multa dicenda videntur. Verum enimvero, ut ego rectus mihi dicendi de eo cursum et instituam, et vos melius et facilius, quæ a me rudi quodam modo et jejuna oratione dicentur, percipiatis, statui tripliciter de ASCHAMO dicere; primum de tota vita et obitu; deinde de ejus scriptionis, et dictionis laudibus pauca; postremo vos adhortabor, licet mea non indigeatis admonitione, ut hæc ejus et horum similia diligenter perlegatis. Et quo citius vos hinc fructum aliquem capere possitis, ostendam quibus modis et viis ad hanc quam ille cum aliis adeptus est, scriptionis elegantiam et dictionis puritatem facillime pervenire possitis. Et licet sus MINERVAM docuerit, malui tamen meam ineptitudinem prodere, et infantiam propalam patefacere, ut mei hinc saltem aliquid addiscant, quam officium in hac re meum imprudenter deserere, aut laborem justa data occasione negligenter subterfugere. Nihil fictum aut falsum ejus laudibus affigam, nihil vanum aut non necessarium introducam, nihil inutile licet vobis fortasse notum et cognitum, in medium proferam, ut vestros animos satis ad studia propensos, ad hæc et aliorum simillimorum imitanda scripta alliciam. Ea tantum de ASCHAMO dicam, quæ vel olim a præceptore meo JOANNE RACSTERO erudito quidem et honesto viro, ejusdem collegii eo tempore alumno sæpissime audiverim, vel a ROGERI ASCHAMI amicis et notis complurimis, præcipue a perdilecto amico meo GULIELMO IRLANDO ejusdem ROGERI ASCHAMI olim pupillo, aliisque præ-

stantibus viris in summa dignitate constitutis, diligenti perquisitione didicerem; vel quæ potissimum ex ejus scriptis et literis vel Anglice vel Latine exaratis exhauserim et eruerim. Præbete quæso mihi vestras attentissimas aures, dum hæc a me proposita tenuiter pertractata fuerint.

ROGERUS ASCHAMUS, * Kirby Wiske, ut fertur, in agro Eboracensi, honesta et generosa familia natus est, circa annum Domini MDXV. Pater illi JOANNES ASCHAMUS fuit nobilissimi viri Domini SCROUPI familiæ œconomus. Qui ea vitæ integritate, ea morum gravitate, honestate, et in rebus gerendis prudentia et modestia floruit: ut non cum vulgari genere hominum illius regionis æquandus, sed cum optimis sui loci atque ordinis viris jure comparandus esset. Mater erat MARGARETA ASCHAMA honestissima et castissima femina, multis generosis viris cognatione et sanguine propinquissima. Hi, quum tres filios, THOMAM, ANTONIUM, et hunc ROGERUM ASCHAMOS, filiasque procreassent; et iis disciplinis, literis, et moribus, quibus puerilis ætas imbui solet, summa cura effingendos et informandos

* Non *Kirby Wieke*: ita enim libri apud gentes exteras impressi, et FULLERUS noster in *Historia virorum Angliæ illustrium* evulgarunt: sed *Kirby Wiske* legendum esse constat. Est enim is viculus quidam sive parœchia in argo Eboracensi, ad ripam fluminis Wiske, et in vicinia Northallertonæ oppidi situs. ASCHAMI nostri ortu, non tantum clarus; sed et genere Domini PALLISERI, reverendissimi archiepiscopi Cassiliensis perillustris: et GEORGII HICKESII ibidem natali die; viri et omni genere virtutis et pietatis et doctrinæ vera laude cumulatissimi, semper futurus celeberrimus. Natum eo loco se fuisse testatur vir eruditissimus, in dissertatione *de usu linguarum septentrionalium* epistolari, quam ad SHOWERUM suum ornatissimum scribit, in *thesauro* earundem *veterum linguarum septentrionalium* doctissimo quidem et instructissimo, p. 156.

curassent: * quadragintaque septem annos conjunctissime conjuges vixissent; una die et eadem fere hora, una ad Christum, morte etiam ipsa jugati commigrarunt. Hic ROGERUS a patre dimissus, in clarissima WINGFIELDIANA familia, ornatissimi viri Domini ANTONII WINGFIELDI sempiternæ memoriæ viri impensis, pueritiam suam honestissime sustentatam transegit. Cujus etiam singulari beneficaque provisione, una cum ejusdem Domini ANTONII filiis, sub R. BONDO communi præceptore, quem patris in loco perpetuo habuit et unice semper coluit, prima literarum adeoque virtutis omnis non infelicia nec pœnitenda fundamenta jecit. Puer acri ingenio et singulari industria erat, magno quodam literarum desiderio inflammatus; libris Anglicis, a quo semel literarum elementa didicisset, perlectitandis mirifice deditus. Quod quidem quasi apertum quoddam omen fuit futuræ diligentiæ et φιλοπονίας in pervolvendis et Græcis et Latinis libris: ex quibus, hebescente jam ætate et maturescente, suavissimos eruditionis succos exhauserit. Quum sic sub R. BONDO in ea familia tirocinium posuisset, et quum præceptoris industria, tum sui ipsius ingenio, et ad literas propensione, ad eam eruditionis maturitatem pervenisset, ut ad clariora jam doctrinæ domicilia esset promovendus: summa ejusdem domini Antonii Wingfeldi prudentia, consilio, ope, et auxilio, in gravissimum literatissimorum virorum nobilissimi divi Joannis Evangelistæ collegii Cantabrigiæ cœtum ascriptus est, circa annum Domini MDXXX. Hunc Dominum ANTONIUM WINGFELDUM semper in omnibus vitæ rationibus, turbulentissimisque rerum acerbitatibus, tam propensum adjutorem, tam benignum et liberalem patronum expertus est, ut quocunque animo et cogitatione converteret, videbat, ut de se dixit,

* Vid. epist. IX, lib. 1.

promerita ejus veluti densa quædam apum examina, sic undique memoriam suam circumsepire, ut illis referendis nunquam se parem futurum præsagiret.

In hoc nobili collegio tutor illi erat HUGO FITZHERBERTUS, ejusdem collegii socius, doctrina, virtute, et modestia præstans, et ROBERTO PEMBERO intima familiaritate conjunctissimus. Quem PEMBERUM summa caritate complexus est FITZHERBERTUS, et ad omnem honestatem sacræque scripturæ lectionem melliflua oratione sæpissime vocavit et amicissime instruxit. Hic etiam ROGERUM ob egregias animi dotes, unice dilexit et bonis literis virtute et pietate instituit. Erant eo tempore, quo ROGERUS ASCHAMUS huic collegio fuit emancipatus, in hac academia omnium liberalium artium doctores et magistri egregii. Imo certe in hoc uno collegio, quod ea ætate singula totius orbis literarum domicilia et doctissimorum theologorum numero, eruditissimorum philosophorum turba, eloquentissimorum oratorum multitudine, vel juste adæquare vel longe superare posset, erant complurimi homines, omni politiori literatura linguarumque cognitione præstantissimi. Quorum ille provocatus exemplis, et literarum imbibendarum ardore incensus, brevi, propter admirabilem ingenii vim et indefessam in studiis industriam, tantos in Græcis Latinisque literis progressus fecit, ut omnes æquales si non superaret certe unus singulos adæquaret. Eo inquam tempore Cantabrigiam venit quo literæ et Græcæ et Latinæ efflorescere, et præclara studia in ea academia herbescere, et ad summum hujus regni ornamentum maturescere cœperunt. Ea ætate postea floruit, qua GEORGIUS DAIUS, JOANNES REDMANNUS, ROBERTUS PEMBERUS, THOMAS SMITHUS, JOANNES CHECUS, NICOLAUS RIDLÆUS, EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS, THOMAS WATSONUS, GUALTERUS HADDONUS, JACOBUS

Pilkintonus, R. Horsus, Joannes Christophersonus, Thomas Wilsonus, Joannes Setonus, et infiniti alii excellenti doctrina præditi, et perspecta vitæ morumque probitate ornati, magna academiæ eo tempore lumina, maxima postea totius reipublicæ ornamenta, viguerunt. Hi enim, et ex his præcipue Thomas Smithus, academiæ splendor, et Joannes Checus Cantabrigiæ decus, suo exemplo, eruditione, diligentia, constantia, consilio, non studendi solum sed recte vivendi ordine, ad præclara studia omnes adduxerunt et concitarunt, qui ab eo tempore ad hunc usque diem in Cantabrigia succreverunt, et ad eminentem aliquam doctrinam surrexerunt. Erant in hoc puero, præter præclaras ingenii dotes virtutumque semina, literarum avidum desiderium quædam etiam incredibilis modestia, pudor singularis, et gravitas quædam, ut Pemberus dicere solebat, major quam quæ ab illa puerili ætate expectanda esset. Magnam multis de suo acri ingenio, rara indole, et magna in literis delibandis industria spem excitabat, præcipue Roberto Pembero, homini Græcæ linguæ admirabili facultate excultissimo. Is enim prædicere solebat Aschamum puerum, jam jam propediem inter viros excellentes et utriusque linguæ peritissimos collocandum fore, vel apud morosos et iniquos judices. Multis et magnis viris a primo statim anno acceptissimus; doctis et eruditis gratissimus: a Joanne Checo perdilectus, eique Græcæ linguæ studio postea conjunctus: Thomæ Smitho valde familiaris, Joanni Redmanno magna amicitia copulatus; Ridlæo, Daio, et reliquis hujus notæ viris carissimus; a sui similibus valde amatus. Hunc Robertus Pemberus unice amabat, amplexabatur, in manibus habebat, laudabat, ad majora in dies et præsens sermone et absens literis excitabat.

A pueritia Græcis literis valde delectabatur, eas assidue meditabatur, et cum Latinis ad suam utilitatem quotidie conjungebat. Et quo citius ad Græcarum literarum cognitionem perveniret, ipse puer pueros Græcas literas docebat, quod PEMBERO maximum videbatur admirabilis cujusdam in eo futuræ eruditionis argumentum. Hortabatur eum PEMBERUS ut hoc assidue faceret, ad suam augendam et locupletandam in ea lingua facultatem. Laudabat in hac re conatum industriamque ejus indies. Et ad eum persequendum cursum exacuebat, et virtus certe laudata crescit. Excitabat etiam in hoc puero Pemberus magnum desiderium pulsandi lyram, musarum, ut ipse putavit, cultoribus aptissimam, et Aschamo, quod musicam vocalem probe callebat, facillimam. Is quadam in epistola ad ROGERUM ASCHAMUM scripta eum affatur hisce verbis.

Rogere carissime, ago tibi gratias pro epistola tua Græce, quæ vel Athenis videri potuerat scripta, adeo ad unguem καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν observasti; et est elegantissime depicta, quod in te perpetuum est. DOUSÆUM et PILSONUM felices putas, sed tu adhuc adolescentulus et pene puer utrumque longissimo superas intervallo; sive id studio sive naturæ debes aut utrique potius. Sum literarum tuarum cupidissimus, quæ me mirifice delectant, vel scriptionis elegantia vel ipsarum præstantia. Da operam, ut sic perfectus, non Stoicus ἀλλὰ Λυρικὸς, hoc est, ut belle pulses lyram. Perlege, ut facis, Græcum aliquid pueris; plus utilitatis allatura est tibi unica fabella Æsopi perlecta abs te, quam si audisses totam Iliada Latine a doctissimis enarratum. PLINIUM lege, in quo rerum cognitio est maxima, et Latinæ linguæ opes floridissimæ.

Hæc PEMBERUS. Præterea admirabilem prorsus in pingendo gratiam assequebatur, quotidieque eam belli orem picturatioremque usu efficiebat. Cœpit jam, maturescente ætate, utriusque linguæ auctores assidue legere, privatis exercitiis indulgere, dialecticis disputa-

tionibus, et domi et foris interesse, prælectionibus et privatis et publicis adesse, philosophiæ et eloquentiæ amore exardescere, in literis humanioribus tempus conterere, historiarum suavitate capi et delectari. In quibus quum aliquot annos, ad suam maximam utilitatem, ad aliorum magnam admirationem versatus fuisset, et ejus ingenium et eruditio non solum domi eminere, sed foris in publicis scholis circumsonare, et in quoddam quasi ingenii theatrum prodire cœpisset, erat tandem, juxta morem et consuetudinem Academiæ, summo totius Academiæ assensu, in Baccalaureatus gradum, tanquam primum industriæ et doctrinæ suæ præmium et sertum cooptatus, anno Domini MDXXXIV, Februarii 18, ætatis suæ agens annum decimum octavum: et paulo post in die electionis sociorum proximo sequente Martii 23, erat opera et clandestino auxilio NICOLAI MEDCALFI, collegii Divi Joannis eo tempore magistri, in sociorum cœtum ascitus; qui dies omnium in vita jucundissimus, et quasi dies natalis ei visus fuit.

Nec hoc novo honore elatus studia deseruit; sed hoc tanquam virtutis et eruditionis ornamento incitatus, magis ac magis in studia incubuit, et in musæum se omnino abdidit. CICERONEM sibi, PLATONEM, ARISTOTELEM penitus pervolutandos proposuit; CICERONIS diligentissimus cultor, maximus amator, prudentissimus imitator; hunc et unice amplexus, et ad stuporem usque admiratus est; hujus limpidissimis fontibus suos rivulos adauxit; hinc dulcissimos purioris dictionis succos exhausit. Hinc suavissimas cultioris orationis aquas ad suam immensam laudem, ad pupillorum, quos jam habuit, præclarum uberemque fructum, ad totius Academiæ maximum ornamentum, profluenter exsuxit. Hunc auctorem, si quis alius, et

constanter pervolvit et prudenter imitatus est, suisque scriptis et exercitationibus quum publicis tum privatis optime expressit. Si quid postea in dictionis puritate scribendique præclara facultate excelluit, id omne M. T. CICERONI et C. CAESARI acceptum ferre debet. Maluit enim ex ipsis fontibus plenissime haurire quam rivulos inde deductos consectari. PLATONEM totius Græciæ lumen, Athenarum splendidissimam gemmam, et volvebat sæpissime et ejus præceptis animum utilissime excoluit. Nec frigide aut supine legebat, sed ad maximum fructum, et dicendi judicandique facultatem perlegebat. Ex ARISTOTELE philosophorum principe, abditarum rerum cognitionem, et præclaros sapientiæ thesauros diligentissime excerpsit. THUCYDIDEM et HERODOTUM optimos Historiographos; DEMOSTHENEM et ISOCRATEM suavissimos oratores privatim discipulis prælegebat. Varios philosophos, oratores, poetas, aut publice in collegio, aut privatim in cubiculo exponebat. Ex quibus studiis et exercitationibus, tantam et eruditionis accessionem et tam plenam utriusque linguæ facultatem est adeptus, ut nomen ejus magis atque magis enituerit. Et jam præterlapsis in hisce studiis et exercitiis trium annorum curriculis, maximo totius Academiæ applausu, in celeberrimis comitiis Cantabrigiæ habitis, anno Domini MDXXXVII die Martis post festum Divi Petri et Pauli, artium magister inauguratus est, annum ætatis suæ agens vicesimum primum, quum jam clarissimæ memoriæ princeps HENRICUS OCTAVUS viginti novem annos regnasset, et EDVARDUM nobilissimum filium ex uxore JOANNA SEMERIA regina progenuisset.

Erat moribus facillimis, animo aperto et simplici; natura erat lenis et mitis, comitate affabilis, amicis fidelissimus: vita honestus, homo ad amicitias cum

bonis et eruditis copulandas natus, et ad conciliandas et devinciendas hominum voluntates aptissimus. Amicos summa fide, maximo studio, et quibus potuit officiis amplexus est, coluit, observavit. Nemo majore diligentia majore cura pupillos instituebat: nemo majore fide, arctiore amicitia suos discipulos diligebat. Vix crederes, quo studio, qua animi contentione eorum saluti utilitatique consuleret. Et non solum literis Græcis et Latinis prudenter excoluit, sed bonis moribus, optimis præceptis, virtute, pietate, valde laudabiliter instruxit. Eorum studia partim hortatione, partim suo exemplo accendit et inflammavit, ac ad optimos quosque utriusque linguæ auctores studiis excolendos mirifice commovit et incitavit. Hujus pupillus fuit GULIELMUS GRINDALLUS juvenis laudatissimus, præclaris eruditionis laudibus ornatissimus: quem a parvulo inter cubiculi parietes, septem fere annos literis Græcis Latinisque instituit. Is enim Grindallus Græcis literis ita fuit excultus, ut nemini in ea academia vel ipsius ROGER ASCHAMI judicio post JOANNEM CHECUM et THOMAM SMITHUM concederet: ita eruditione et philosophia instructus, ut omnes in eo collegio æquales superaret. Qui postea ex Academia, ASCHAMI tutoris opera, in aulam vocatus a Domino JOANNE CHECO, brevi post tempore, doctor ad instituendam illustrissimam Dominam ELIZABETHAM adhibebatur. Ad quem ROBERTUS PEMBERUS sic scripsit in quibusdam carminibus ad eum missis, antequam ab Academia commigraret. Quæ quoniam sunt quasi certum hominis testimonium, non pigebit adscribere:

Ad me quos dederas, juvenis doctissime, nuper
  Versiculos legi terque quaterque tuos:
Illis te mirabiliter, GRINDALLE, profecto
  Pemberum credas exhilarasse tuum.

Dictio tam facilis tua erat bene tamque Latina,
Tam dulces numeri, tam lepidique tui:
Ut multos aut jam versus fecisse per annos,
Ad Musas natus vel videare mihi:
Ad Musas natus, qui talia carmina pangis,
Judicio appares, docte GUILHELME, meo.
Huc quo te natura vocat ducitque benigna,
Ingenii vires tu quoque flecte tui.
Non doctos, sed nos dociles natura benigna
Produxit, doctos cura laborque facit.
Naturæ dotes industria perficit, illa
Si desit, felix nil valet ingenium.
Contigit ingenium multis naturaque felix,
Ast in perpaucis cura laborque vigent.
Inter perpaucos illos, GRISDALLE, videris,
Tu quoque conspicuum velle tenere locum.

Hujus etiam pupilii fuerunt, præter alios quorum non occurrunt mihi nomina, JOANNES THOMSONUS, EDVARDUS RAVENUS et GULIELMUS IRLANDUS: ita literis Græcis Latinisque instructi, ita moribus suaves, ita liberalium artium splendore conspicui, ut ROGERI ASCHAMI discipulos facile possis agnoscere. ROGERUS ASCHAMUS jam juvenis, magnis ingenii ornamentis adjutus, maximis naturæ præsidiis ornatus, summis diligentiæ et literarum beneficiis præditus, ad Græcam Linguam publice in scholis, Academiæ nomine, totius Academiæ suffragiis, cum satis luculento stipendio erat ascitus: priusqum munificentissimus Princeps HENRICUS OCTAVUS, Lectionem suam Græcam in Cantabrigia instituisset. Ex quo tempore etiam Græcam linguam quotidie in Collegio Divi JOANNIS, ubi socius fuit, longo tempore prælegebat. Hic inprimis novam Græcæ Linguæ pronunciationem, ab ornatissimis viris totius Academiæ luminibus, THOMA SMITHO et JOANNE CHECO felicissime introductam, imitari et amplecti nolebat: et ob eam caussam in initio, cum PONETO juvene ingenioso et diserto Reginei Collegii socio velita-

batur: sed in eam graviter ac aperte invehi, propter CHECI et SMITHI auctoritatem, non audebat: quos suos ornatissimos amicos, doctissimos semper præceptores agnovit. Cujus pronunciationis vestigia paulo post mente sua impressit, et ad extremum usque spiritum acerrime propugnavit: ut in quadam ad HUBERTUM epistola, virum Græcæ Linguæ cognitione instructissimum, comiti Palatino Rheni a secretis, tertio libro dilucide apparet. Honestas oblectationes, honesta exercitia, utpote quæ erant docto homine digna, amabat plurimum: sed ea potissimum, quæ et corporis prodessent sanitati, et animi robur et firmitatem augerent. Sagittando se multum exercuit, et quanta peritia exercuit, liber a se doctissime conscriptus, et HENRICO OCTAVO ante profectionem in Galliam ad expugnandam Bononiam oblatus, anno Domini 1544, testicari potest. De quo libro ROBERTUS PEMBERUS hæc duo carmina lusit:

Non minus hic arcu est quam lingua clarus utraque;
Sic ornat patriam, sic juvat ille suam.

Nec defuerunt, qui ei hanc sagittandi oblectationem vitio vertebant: qui si cum ASCHAMO comparentur, aut prudentia, linguarum peritia, ingenio, rerum usu, scribendo, excogitando, honeste vivendo, pupillos diligenter instituendo, plane frigescerent. Honesta exercitia honestam et studiosam decent vitam: nec in vita honeste agenda sunt negligendæ honestæ oblectationes. Etenim honesta oblectatio molestiam a severioribus negotiis collectam fugat, et homines laboribus reparat et restaurat. Quam rem, ut tanquam licitam et legitimam, semperque omni hominum generi concessam comprobem; necesse est, ut paululum excurrat et ex suis limitibus expatietur oratio mea, dum ostenderit ROGERO ASCHAMO probe licuisse, ad animi relaxationem, honestis exerciis uti; et eum maxime, ad conservan-

dam corporis sanitatem, debuisse talibus indulgere delectationibus. Licet ille ipse hanc rem, in initio primi libri *De arte sagittaria*, doctissime tractaverit, unde defensio satis honesta et responsum satis aptum peti possit : tamen, quoniam tempus postulat et occasio oblata didicendi materiam submínistrat, non gravabor, pace quod fiat vestra, rem eandem, licet non eisdem viribus, communire, et exemplis rationibusque clarissime illustrare. Legimus SCIPIONEM et LÆLIUM, par veræ amicitiæ clarissimum, ut VALERII MAXIMI verbis utar, honestis oblectationibus sese dedisse. Qui rure feriantes puerilibus ludis animum relaxabant, et ad Cajetam portum Campaniæ Lucrinumque lacum Campaniæ conchas, id est duriores testas piscium, ut purpuræ, muricis, ostrearum, et umbelicos, id est rotundos calculos, nitidos, politos in speciem nostri umbelici, puerorum more colligere et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere solebant. Hoc rèlaxationis genus in otiosis viris et inertibus turpe ; in SCIPIONE vero AFRICANO minore et CAIO LÆLIO sapiente summa amicitia, teste CICERONE, conjunctis : omnium virtutum inter se societate, ut VALERIUS MAXIMUS refert, copulatis, videtur fuisse honestissimum. Nesciunt hi homines nimis iniqui rerum æstimatores, QUINCTUM SCÆVOLAM CRASSI socerum ac CAII LÆLII generum, forensibus negotiis ministeriisque defatigatum, alea, et calculis, interdum pila, lusisse. Ignorant hi tetrici et severi judices CATONEM minorem aleæ et potationibus indulsisse; SOCRATEM more puerorum arundinem ascendisse ; AMASIM Ægypti regem compotationibus se dedisse jocoque, morionem et scurram egisse, postquam fori negotia curasset et seriis occupationibus se defatigasset. Qui quum esset ab Ægyptiis eo nomine accusatus, quod rem regi non convenientem faceret, sapien-

ter respondit; Arcus, si semper intenti sunt, ruptum iri; ita si homines assiduo labori, continuis studiis se dedant, nec ulla parte ad lusum uti velint, fore ut pedetentim aut mente capti fiant aut membris. Unde præclare Ovidius:

Quod caret alterna requie, durabile non est.

Optime PLUTARCHUS otium appellavit condimentum laboris. Moderatis enim et honestis exercitiis corpora exercent studiosi, ut ad studendum laboresque in studiis perferendos alacriora et vegetiora reddant. Quemadmodum nimia intensio frangit arcum, ita perpetuo deditum esse literarum studiis, nec unquam animum honestis laxare oblectationibus, facit, ut animus humanus nequeat diu durare in seriis studiis et laboribus. CRASSUS apud CICERONEM 2 *De Oratore*, CATULI sententiam optime refellit. Dicit gymnasia non animi sed corporis gratia inventa et extructa fuisse; et affirmat otii fructum non esse animi contentionem sed relaxationem. In hac illustranda sententia, utitur inprimis exemplo SCIPIONIS et LÆLIA, quo ego supra sum usus, qui fere rusticari et incredibiliter repuerascere solebant; quum rus ex urbe tanquam ex vinculis evolassent. Deinde aliud sumit argumentum a similitudine avium, quæ huic confirmandæ sententiæ belle congruit. Quemadmodum, inquit, volucres videmus procreationis atque utilitatis suæ caussa, fingere et construere nidos, easdem autem, quum aliquid effecerint, levandi laboris sui caussa, passim ac libere solutas opere volitare: sic nostri animi forensibus negotiis atque urbano opere, addam etiam, gravissimis studiis defessi gestiunt, ac volitare cupiunt vacui cura atque labore. Amœna hercule similitudo, et quæ hujusmodi hominum errorem et nimis severam censuram optime refutare videatur. Nimio enim studio ingenium obtunditur, moderato

exercitio reficitur: continuis studiis corporis vires enervantur, honestis laboribus jucundissime refocillantur. Continua quies, vel GALENO teste, maximum est malum ad corporis custodiam : at moderata corporis motio, ipso GALENO judice, maximum bonum. Ob hanc caussam Græci in usu habuerunt certamina gymnica, venationes, saltationes, nec non alia plurima; quibus quasi voluntariis exercitiis, ad veros et necessarios belli labores juventutem acuebant, ne otio torpesceret. Sic studiosi, ne studendo sine intermissione ingenium obruerent aut corporis vigorem labefactarent, habuerunt sua oblectamenta, musicam aut athleticam aut alia hujusmodi, quibus animus studendo fatigatus bellissime reficeretur. Quamobrem, si honesta exercitia molestiam fugent et nos laboribus restaurent; si SCIPIO et LÆLIUS, gravissimi et sapientissimi viri, conchas et umbelicos puerorum more collegerint : si QUINCTUS SCÆVOLA pila luserit, CATO aleæ indulserit, SOCRATES arundinem ascenderit, AMASIS morionem egerit; si honestæ exercitationes corpora ad sustinendos labores promptiora reddant; si CRASSUS apud CICERONEM hoc idem confirmet; si aves, quum nidos construxerint, levandi laboris caussa, labore vacuæ libere volitent; si corpora continuis studiis enerventur, honestis exercitiis reficiantur; si moderatæ corporis motiones corporis sanitatem conservent, quies vero corporis viribus noceat; si Græci gymnicis certaminibus aliisque hujusmodi se exercuerint; si denique studiosi semper animos studiis defessos aut musica recrearint aut corpora arte athletica refocillarint; non video quid impediret, quo minus ROGERUS ASCHAMUS sua haberet honesta oblectamenta, arcu uteretur, aut ἀλεκτρυομαχίᾳ interesset. Hæc ideo a me obiter sunt in medium producta, ut omni negligentiæ suspi-

cione hominem constantem, gnavum, et industrium virum liberem, et nimis curiosam aliorum vanitatem erroremque omnibus deridendum propinem: qui quum ipsum virtute et literis adæquare non possent, invidere tamen, et ob honesta hæc exercitia reprehendere non cessarunt.

Valde delectabatur sagittando, nec de se hoc tacuit quum Cantabrigiæ esset: et nonnunquam studiis oppressus hac exercitatione delectabatur. Sed hæc sagittandi cupiditas eum a libris nunquam avocabat; sed ingenium ad literas lætius et alacrius, voluntatemque ad studia recolenda paratiorem reddebat. Multi enim dantur ad studia reditus, a quibus necesse est ut fiat sæpenumero intermissio. Corpus habebat valetudinarium, multis morbis afflictatum, cui si nunquam pepercisset et honestis laboribus refecisset, in suo statu diu durare non valuisset. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα; jam unde digressa est convertat se oratio nostra. Scripsit literas omnes, quas Academia ad regiam majestatem, aut quoscunque alios honoratos viros, multorum annorum spatio, dederit: et tanta diligentia, tanta elegantia depinxit, ut nihil accuratius fieri, nihil elegantius depingi potuerit. Politissime quidem depinxit, venuste exaravit, hacque optima exercitatione omnes tunc temporis studiosos et litteratos longe superavit. Si Latine literas exararet, nihil admirabilius; si Græce scriberet, manu ejus nihil pulchrius: si Anglice literas pingeret, valde eleganter. Hac exercitatione postea docuit nobilissimum principem EDVARDUM SEXTUM, illustrissimam Dominam ELIZABETHAM, honoratissimos fratres, HENRICUM et CAROLUM Suffolciæ duces, multosque alios et viros et feminas. Et, quod omnium præstantissimum eique aptissimum fuit, frequens senatus Academiæ, eum in

Joannis Checi locum, qui anno Domini 1544, Julii X, ab Academia ad docendum illustrissimum principem Edvardum, a nobilissimo patre Henrico Octavo erat avocatus, unanimi consensu Oratorem Academiæ designavit. Quod munus novem fere annos et præsens et absens retinuit, ac tanta diligentia, tanta dignitate, tanta admiratione, tanta denique scribendi dicendique commoderatione eo est perfunctus, ut a nemine melius aut præclarius adornari potuerit. Cujus suavitatem, ut testatur Christophersonus in quadam ad eum epistola,

Ita multi admirari solebant, ut nihil plane fuerit, quod eos ad politioris literaturæ studium magis incitaverit. Cujus in oratione gravitas ea fuit, ut animos audientium non ad prudentiam solam erudire, verum etiam ita promovere potuit, ut quo vellet, facile impelleret. Cujus Musæ etiam in scribendo tam elegantes fuerunt, ut suavitas ne sermonis, qui tam concinne, artificiose, ornateque constructus fuit, an prudentis in sententiis, quæ tam crebræ erant in oratione positæ, magis oblecta verit, plane nescirent.

Potui hujus rei locupletissimos testes adferre; sed non est necessarium in re tam certa et perspicua testibus uti non necessariis. Ut ætate et tempore, sic doctrina, ingenio, linguarum peritia, humanioribus literis et historiis accrevit, ut illius nomen non unius collegii parietibus concludi, non in obscuri cubiculi angulis abscondi posset, sed longe lateque disseminatum per multorum voculas dispersum fuit, et in apertum quasi existimationis campum irrupit. Nobilibus viris, illustrissimis feminis, doctissimis episcopis innotuit. Quorum multorum gratiam aucupabatur, plurimorum benivolentiam conciliabat, nonnullorum benificam et liberalem naturam sentiebat. Imprimis autem Edvardo Læo archiepiscopo Eboracensi notissimus fuit: qui eum et amavit plurimum, et multis beneficiis annuaque pensione liberalissime adornavit. Duci Suffolciensi lectissimæ

feminæ et ejus nobilissimis filiis HENRICO et CAROLO; nobilissimæ feminæ ANNÆ, illustrissimi comitis Pembrochiensis uxori, nobilissimique domini marchionis Northamptonensis sorori; sanctissimo viro domino MARTINO BUCERO (defuncto jam HENRICO OCTAVO anno Dom. 1546 [*i.e.* 47] circa finem Januarii, et patri succedente EDVARDO filio ad religionem instaurandam nato), qui ex Germania amplissimis præmiis ab EDVARDO rege erat accersitus, ut Cantabrigiæ sacram theologiam regio stipendio profiteretur. Quis BUCERO erat ROGERO ASCHAMO carior? Quem majore amore complectebatur ROGERUS ASCHAMUS? Quem majore fide, observantia, studio venerabatur, colebat, observabat ASCHAMUS? Hunc et ætate, prudentia, consilio patrem, et doctrina, moribus, vitæ sanctitate, præceptorem semper habuit diuque coluit. Postremo innotuit omnium adolescentularum Phœnici, generosissimæ dominæ ELIZABETHÆ, HENRICI OCTAVI filiæ, EDVARDI regis sorori, quæ ei (propter GULIELMUM GRINDALLUM ejus pupillum, qui eandem dominam ELIZABETHAM tum JOANNIS CHECI opera docebat), plurimum favebat. A qua, post GULIELMI GRINDALLI obitum, quum jam ROGERUS ASCHAMUS octodecim fere annos in Academia felicissime studuisset et inter illius memoriæ viros floruisset, ætatis suæ annum agens trigesimum secundum, a literario otio ad literarium negotium; ab academia Chestoniam; ubi illa tunc temporis, ut fertur, commorabatur, accersitus fuit anno Domini 1548, circa mensem Februarii, impetrata a magistro et sociis absentiæ venia, ut eam doctrinæ imaginem, quam in ea GULIELMUS GRINDALLUS inchoaverat, omnibus lineamentis, coloribus, formis et perpoliret et politissima arte perficeret. Hic pupillus in eam docendo priorem locum occupavit; non sine omne fortasse tutoris consilio: sequutus est pupillum tutor

omni eruditionis laude cumulatissimus: qui et illam perfecit doctrinæ effigiem, quam ille alter et primus APELLES tantum inchoaverat, nondum ad finem immatura morte correptus perduxerat. Inauditum hoc et valde admirabile, ut post APELLEM alius pictor exsurgeret, qui in ejus suffectus locum, et posset optime et pertentaret felicissime admirabilem illam oris pulchritudinem, reliquarum corporis partium accessione illustrare, et splendidioribus coloribus nobiliorique artificio, reliqua lineamenta exprimere et perficere. Superavit hic APELLEM APELLES, hoc nullus unquam pictor efficere potuit. Neque hi fuerunt imaginum sed mentium pictores: non coloribus sed eruditione et artibus; non penicillo sed ingenio hanc duxerunt imaginem mentis illustrissimæ dominæ ELIZABETHÆ. Illam ille tanta diligentia, tanta experientia et studio duos annos docuit, et illa illum tanta constantia, labore, amore, voluptate audivit, ut illene majore quidem cum jucunditate et voluptate prælegerit, an illa lubentiore animo didicerit, non possim quidem facile statuere. Unum hoc dicam, ab eo libentissime nos omnes discere, quem magni facimus. Et magnum certe ad nostros in literis progressus momentum adfert, si magnifice de præceptore sentiamus. Illa Græcas literas avido quodam desiderio degustabat; Latinas indefesso studio arripiebat. In quibus quantum profecerit, aliorum sit judicium, qui et eam Latine Græceque loquentem audiverunt et ad stuporem usque admirati sunt. Perlegebat cum illa Domina ELIZABETHA integrum fere CICERONEM, magnam partem TITI LIVII, selectiores orationes ISOCRATIS, SOPHOCLIS tragœdias, Græcum Testamentum, locos communes PHILIPPI MELANCTHONIS, cum aliis hujusmodi insignioris notæ auctoribus. Quo amore, toto hoc tempore, et qua

benivolentia unica hac feminarum Phœnix ROGERUM ASCHAMUM præceptorem prosequuta est, et qua observantia, studio, officio, ille eam coluit, malui ego in tacita tantæ principis opinione relinquere, quam inepte et frigide aliis commemorare. Hæc omnia aperte ostendebat ille invitus ab illa, non satis consideratus ut ille postea fassus est, discessus: quum, domina sua ELIZABETHA invitissima, Cantabrigiam ad recolenda et celebranda vetera studia reverteretur. Nec aliquid unquam magis eum dolore afflixit, quam quod illa invita ab illa discederet a qua maximum sui laboris fructum expectaret; ut postea felicissime contigit, quum domina ELIZABETHA ad rerum gubernacula evecta fuit.

Quum aulica turba sic liberatus et veteris otii literarii suavitati restitutus Cantabrigiam rediisset, ubi antiquum in collegio Divi JOANNIS locum possidebat, Græcas literas docebat, Oratoris munere perfungebatur, satisque honestam conditionem Regis EDVARDI beneficentia obtinebat; nolo dicere, quanta hic voluptate perfundebatur, quum ad vetera recurrenda ingenii curricula, ad veteres redintegrandas amicitias, ad fidelissimos amplexandos amicos, ad sanctissimum visendum patrem Dominum BUCERUM, ad gratissimos aspiciendos pupillos, juvenumque inspicienda et promovenda studia reverteretur. Sed hic diu fortuna, sive ut verissime dicam Deus, cum non est passus pedem figere et vitæ quasi tabernaculum ponere, ad illustriora peragenda munera natum, et ad majores res in republica conficiendas aptum et habilem. Anno Domini 1550, æstatis tempore, amicos suos in agro Eboracensi visit: ubi quum parvo temporis spatio commoratus fuisset, erat inde statim præclarissimi equitis JOANNIS CHECI literis ad aulam accitus, ut cum ornatissimo viro Domino RICHARDO MORYSINO, ad CAROLUM

QUINTUM regio legato, in Germaniam proficisceretur. Quo nihil potuit ei gratius accidere: nam magno quodam tenebatur desiderio exteras nationes peragrandi, aliorum populorum mores cognoscendi, urbes invisendi, Academias inspiciendi, regionum ritus, monumenta, instituta perlustrandi. Nec possum hoc loco prætermittere, quod ille jucunda subinde recordatione recoluit, quomodo in via, iter ab agro Eboracensi ad Aulam faciens deflexerit Lecestriam, ut illustrissimam adolescentulam JOANNAM GRAIAM nobilissimam marchionis Dorsetensis filiam viseret, cui antea in aula valde fuit familiaris. Ubi, quum in ejus cubiculum esset admissus, invenit illam solam, legentem Græco *Phædonem* PLATONIS. Sed ea quæ cum illa habuit colloquia non est opus hic repetere, quoniam ille ipse pulcherrime in suo *Præceptore* Anglice conscripto ea partim expresserit. Quum ad Aulam pervenisset, et de suo itinere cum Domino JOANNE CHECO egisset: infra paucos dies cum ornatissimo viro Domino RICHARDO MORYSINO Regiæ Majestatis legato, in Germaniam, quam antea invisere animus gliscebat, iter instituit et Thamesin XX Septembris 1550 conscendit. In quo itinere, vir summæ eruditionis loca omnia diligenter perquisivit, hominum mores accurate didicit: templa, monumenta, portus, monasteria, bibliothecas, fora, muros, castella prudenter animadvertit. Doctorum virorum notitiam sibi peperit, amorem conciliavit, multorum amicitiam sibi arctissimis vinculis copulavit; et ita continuis laboribus omnia cognitu necessaria, indefessaque industria civitatum situs et oppidorum structuras studiose notavit, ut pulcherrimarum rerum experientiam, magno studio collectam, domum reportaret. Et is, qui in Anglia nuper complurimis valde carus et probatus exstiterat, nunc in Germania multis

carissimus, in Italia pluribus familiaritate conjunctissimus vixit. Taceo JOANNEM STURMIUM, quem antea literis ex Anglia salutaverat, quem diu amavit, nunquam vidit, licet semel viserit Argentinam, et suum STURMIUM domi non invenerit. Quam carus alter alteri suit, liber primus *Epistolarum ad Joannem Sturmium* conscriptus indicat. Et ipse JOANNES STURMIUS in multis ad eum et ad alios literis hoc testatur.

Non erit supervacaneum hic verba adfigere, quæ in quadam ad Dominum PAGETTUM epistola, idem JOANNES STURMIUS scripserit.

Ego ASCHAMUM, *inquit*, amo, quia me ab eo amari sentio ex suis ad me studiosissime scriptis literis, quæ mihi semper fuerunt gratissimæ: deinde ob similitudinem studiorum, ut non solum idem apud auctores intelligere, verum idem velle videamur: tum propter doctrinam, quæ nisi magna esset, non posset ita ad me scribere, ut scribit.

Et in alia epistola ad eundem.

Incredibile est quam ego diligam et amem ASCHAMUM, motus ejus literis, prudentia, doctrina: quorum utrumque ex literis intelligo, quæ mihi semper exstiterunt suavissimæ.

Hæc STURMUIS. Augustæ Vindelicorum in multorum doctorum mutuam amicitiam incidit: sed cum HIERONYMO WOLFIO præcipue magna necessitudine et familiaritate vixit. Ita carus fuit multis Germaniæ principibus et civitatibus, ut JOANNES STURMIUS optime in quadam ad Dominum PAGETTUM epistola est testificatus,

Propter prudentiam, humanitatem, elegantiam, doctrinam, suavitatem, quas virtutes ex se habuit: deinde propter amicorum commendationes, quas ejus virtus merita est, ita inquam gratus et carus fuit, ut dignus videretur, qui in perpetuis esset legationibus; sed ita doctus, ita studiosus, ita idoneus ad literarum studia, ut JOANNES STURMIUS optaret eum perpetuo esse in scholis doctorum hominum.

Dominus RICHARDUS MORYSINUS legatus regius eum ad omnia sua consilia, ad omnes deliberationes, quas de maximis gravissimisque rebus in Germania habuit, propter prudentiam et rerum usum semper adhibebat. Et tantum etiam ejus fidei, ingenio, et prudentiæ singulari tribuebat, ut omnes curas et cogitationes suas ei libentissime impertiret. Quem adeo studiosum, honestum, industrium, officiosum, literatum comperit, ut ejus consortio valde delectaretur. Et quamvis natura inflammatus magna tenebatur res foris in Germania gestas videndi cupiditate; tamen magna constantia et voluptate, officio suo erga dominum legatum domi perfungi cupiebat. Proponam vobis magnam hominis industriam, quam in variis literis Anglice scriptis ex Germania in Angliam perspicio. Dicetis ROGERUM ASCHAMUM in Germania non fuisse otiosum, nec communi peregre proficiscentium in alias regiones more tempus incassum contrivisse; qui sæpissime nequiores ac quandoque etiam stultiores sane redeunt, quam exierant. Prælegebat domino legato Augustæ totum HERODOTUM, quinque tragœdias SOPHOCLIS, aliquot EURIPIDIS; viginti tres orationes DEMOSTHENIS, ab ejus adventu in Germaniam Octobris xii 1550, usque ad xii Augusti 1551. Singulis diebus legebat bis, et hoc faciebat quatuor uniuscujusque septimanæ diebus: tempore antemeridiano tres aut quatuor paginas HERODOTI interpretabatur; pomeridiano tempore, ducentos et duodecim aut ducentos et tredecim versus SOPHOCLIS aut EURIPIDIS explicabat. Reliquis tribus hebdomadæ diebus transcribebat literas, quæ erant a domino legato in Angliam missæ. Non miramini hominis diligentiam, industriam, studium, qui sic continuis premebatur occupationibus, et tamen omnia elegantia suavitate summa præstabat? Quod

tempus jam quieti, otio, amicorum confabulationibus, scribendis in Angliam ad amicos literis relictum? Nocturno tempore hoc factitabat: nocturno tempore diario suo res auditas, factas, aut visas mandabat. Si aliqua vacui temporis portiuncula a reliquis negotiis et studiis concedebatur, id tempus libentissime singula oppida, ubi cum domino legato commorabatur, videndo, doctos adeundo, mores et instituta urbium discendo, nova audiendo, totum consumebat. Ad manus ejus varia nova pervenerunt Turcica, Asiatica, Africana, Papistica, Germanica, Cæsariana; quæ quidem omnia diligentissime notabat: nihilominus tamen illæ literæ, quas a JOANNE STURMIO reciperet, plenissimas eruditione, elegantia, eloquentia, humanitate, multo majore voluptate illum perfuderunt. In omnibus literis e Germania missis ad amicos Cantabrigienses, Joannenses, ut ille vocabat, semper precibus valde contendebat, ut in ejus absentia, collegii divi JOANNIS alumni in literis Græcis et virtutibus indies proficerent; ut bonos mores et pietatem cum doctrina imbiberent; ut Oratoris munus, cujus ille absens fructum percipiebat, diligenter suppleretur. Vix crederetis, quo studio et contentione hoc postulabat, in variis litteris Anglice scriptis, quas ipse humanissime amplector, et custodio diligentissime. Quidam etiam ad me contenderunt ut has ederem, quum ob suavitatem linguæ in qua sunt scriptæ, tum ob sententiarum splendorem quo sunt perpolitæ. Sed quid hæc? Quum Œnoponti et Halæ in Italiæ finibus commoraretur, generale concilium Tridenti habitum Maii primo visendi tenebatur desiderio; ut illic illius generalis concilii et synodi statum, ordinem, et tractationem aperte disceret, et studiose annotaret; sed nec facultas, nec facultates ei ad hanc rem suppeterent. Dici vix potest, qua sedulitate omnia in illis regionibus

oppida perlustrare, quo etiam animo omnes omnium civitatum consuetudines scire cupiebat. In tota tamen hac peregrinatione, in longa hac voluptate, qua profundebatur, exteras regiones peragrando, exterorumque mores et populi ritus perlustrando, vitæ libero in studiis Cantabrigiæ actæ, nullam vitam, etiam si splendida appareret, nec in republica Anglicana cum dignitate nec in peregrinis nationibus cum multarum rerum experientia et voluptate, comparandam esse judicavit. Dulces illic fortasse putabat esse studiorum comitos, dulcia colloquia, tutas et sine periculo suaves obambulationes, dulcissimas Musas, fidelissimos amicos, intimos omnium consiliorum socios, quos idem amor, idem erga literas ardor, eadem studia arctissimis et quasi adamantinis amicitiæ vinculis copulabant. Est enim ea verissima amicitia, quam virtus conglutinat, non voluptas aut utilitas conjungit: quæ ubi semel hominum animis recepta fuerit, ibique radices egerit et coaluerit, nunquam extinguitur, etiamsi amici locorum intervallis sejungantur, per literas, vel per nuncios, aut alio modo amicitias studiose retinent, et firmissimas conservant. Optime CICERO, ut semper solet, mihi dixisse videtur:

Omnium societatum, nulla præstantior est, nulla firmior, quam quum viri boni moribus similes sunt familiaritate conjuncti: nihil enim amabilius nec copulatius, quam morum similitudo bonorum.

Præferebat hanc vitam ROGERUS ASCHAMUS omni splendori, omni dignitati, omnibusque in republica splendidis muneribus. Et quam aliam ob causam præferebat, nisi ut quiete se Musis totum dederet, animum continuo literis excoleret, Græcam linguam qua mire capiebatur, Cantabrigiæ doceret, et DEMOSTHENIS, quem ille studiose semper studiosissime vero quum in Germania esset volvebat, succum, vim, suavi-

tatem, phrasim, veneres, omnibus Græcæ linguæ studiosis enucleret et exprimeret? Solebat dicere eos homines et res humanas nescire et jucunde actæ vitæ delectum penitus ignorare, qui non sequebantur unam ex illis rationibus, quas M. T. CICERO in prima primi *De Oratore* sententia commendavit, nunquam assequutus est: hoc est:

Perbeatos illos esse, qui eum vitæ cursum tenere potuerunt, ut vel in negotio, sine periculo, vel in otio cum dignitate esse possent.

Quum jam in multis Germaniæ civitatibus et aliquibus etiamItaliæ urbibus,cum magna et videndi voluptate et desiderii explendi cupiditate maximoque experientiæ fructu ab anno Domini 1550, Septembris xx, usque ad annum 1553, commoratus fuisset; Julii vi, nobilissimus princeps EDVARDUS SEXTUS, immatura morte, ad hujus regni maximum detrimentum, ad piorum omnium ingentem dolorem, ad omnium Anglorum immensum malum et ROGERI ASCHAMI magnam calamitatem, diem obiit. Quo pessimo fato exanimatus ROGERUS ASCHAMUS, quo dolore pene confectus, et curis, [inopia] sollicitudineque valde implicitus, quod rex cecidisset, quod fortunulæ suæ periissent, quod amici omnes, evecta jam ad rerum gubernacula regina MARIA, a pristina dignitate dejecti essent; reditum festinavit, et circa finem mensis Septembris, a Germania in Angliam iter apparavit. Magno gaudio perfusus Germaniam adiit; summo mœrore confectissimus domum est reversus. Erat jam omnibus exutus præsidiis, annuo stipendio spoliatus, amicis destitutus omnibus. Verum vere testante SENECA,

Ima permutat brevis hora summis.

Et præclare scribente OVIDIO,

Passibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat.

Ac erudite docente JUVENALE,

> Ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
> Extollit, quoties voluit fortuna jocari.

Aspicite quæso varium fortunæ eventum. Nam rex clarissimæ memoriæ HENRICUS OCTAVUS, pro libro *De re sagittaria*, quem ei dedicaverat, annua pensione, opera ornatissimi viri domini PAGETTI locupletavit: sed quum HENRICUS diem obiret, ASCHAMUS pensione privatus est. Nobilissimus princeps EDVARDUS SEXTUS insigni bonitate, ejusdem domini PAGETTI erga ASCHAMUM amore, illud stipendium a patre concessum patrisque sublatum morte renovavit, liberalitate auxit, auctoritate confirmavit, et magno Angliæ sigillo, sed cum hac acerba clausula *durante voluntate*, communivit. Mortuo rege EDVARDO, nullum ei relictum stipendium; nulla ad studia in Cantabrigia sustentanda, præmia, nec prædia. Quarum rerum cogitatio, una cum acerbissima regis EDVARDI munificentissimi principis morte, in anxiferas curas eum conjecit. Sed ecce in durissimis hisce temporibus magna et jam domum reverso Dei bonitas illuxit. Nam quum omnia amisisset, nec aliquid aut expectare aut sperare posset, omnibus carissimis amicis a summa dignitate jam depressis; erat subito ab Academia, ad quam post reditum ex Germania se contulit, ad regium consilium, beneficio WINTONIENSIS et domini PAGETTI qui ei valde favebant, accersitus: et sancto coram regio consilio, adhibito juramento, secretarius pro lingua Latina designatus. Quod quidem munus antea ei, regnante EDVARDO, rogatu optimi et ornatissimi viri domini GULIELMI CECILLI, regi EDVARDO a secretis, concessum erat, quum absens in Germania peregrinaretur. Hoc omnium in vita splendidissimum, quod quum in summa rerum desperatione esset, regii consiliarii eum ex omni doctis-

simorum hominum copia delegerint, cujus, in conscribendis Latinis epistolis, opera et ingenio regia majestas uteretur: quod officium apud Angliæ principes longe honestissimum semper fuerit. Literæ, ut vocant, patentes, pro *Toxophilo* ab EDVARDO rege concessæ, nunc amissæ et irritæ, rursus WINTONIENSIS opera et domini PAGETTI studio redintegrantur: et annuum stipendium decem librarum aliarum decem accessione augetur. Hoc munus tanta diligentia, studio, scribendi facultate, pingendique elegantia exercuit, tanta etiam fide et constantia præstitit; duabusque reginis, MARIÆ in primis, et deinde carissimæ amplissimæque ELIZABETHÆ, sic satisfecit, ut nemo, omnium judicio, in nostra memoria, aut majore eloquentia aut ornatiore stylo aut puriore dictione hoc munus obire potuerit. Mirum est recensere, qua industria, quo indefesso labore, qua scribendi assiduitate omnia conficiebat, quo ingenio literas excogitabat, quo artificio perpoliebat. In initio regni PHILIPPI et MARIÆ, in tribus solum diebus quadraginta septem diversas epistolas, ad diversos principes quorum infimi erant cardinales, et excogitabat ornate et depingebat politissime. Si cui hoc mirum videatur, aut si quis me fingere putet, obsignatis ejusdem ASCHAMI tabellis cum eo possum agere; qui hoc idem, in literis ad EDVARDUM RAVENUM, Divi Joannis collegii socium, Anglice scriptis, cum summa asseveratione affirmavit. In hac jam dignitate constitutus, hoc honorato loco adornatus, ex priore miseria ad hunc honoris gradum evectus, et locum in collegio Divi Joannis, ubi adhuc in toto peregrinationis tempore socius fuit, et Oratoris etiam munus in Academia, fere ad festum nativitatis Joannis Baptistæ MDLIV, regiæ majestatis et Wintoniensis opera retinebat.

Junii primo MDLIV duxit uxorem MARGARETAM HOWAM, honestam et castam adolescentulam, generosa familia natam, parentum consilio in matrimonium ei traditam. De cujus nuptiis quum JOANNES STURMIUS audivisset, in quadam epistola ad eum vicessimo quarto Junii MDLIV missa, sic scribit.

Sed quid ego audio? sponsusne factus id nos celare vis? utne tibi aliquod epithalamium mittamus Germanicum? Audio sponsam tuam Dom. WALOPI, Ginensis olim quum ego Caleti essem præfecti, uxorem habere materteram. Deus bone, quam pulchram et venustam mulierem, quam honestam matronam! Si sic hoc est, si uxorem habere illam vis, aut si quæ est alia tibi desponsata, quæso me fac certiorem; et scribe mihi quo sint die futuræ, ut etsi ipse non adesse queam, mittam Thalassium, qui pro me tuos amores ornet, &c.

Hæc JOANNES STURMIUS. Sua virtute et diligentia multos et magnos sibi paravit amicos. WINTONIENSIS, qui eo tempore plurimum auctoritate valuit, multis eum affecit beneficiis, magno amore complexus est. Cujus ingenio et scribendi facultati, cujus etiam fidei et honestati tantum tribuit, ut præclare semper de ASCHAMO sentiret. Quem, licet religione prorsus a se discrepantem intelligeret, tamen ob ejus egregiam in literis conscribendis facultatem, prudentiam, taciturnitatem, noluit aut loco dimovere, aut obtrectatorum malitiosis calumniis fidem ullo modo habere. Vix enim credibile est, quantis et quam gravibus accusationibus ASCHAMUS ob religionem, quam semper ille confidenter profitebatur, coram WINTONIENSI ab eo, qui de Anglico campo nomen habet, onerabatur: quibus homo scelestissimorum errorum artifex, et vanarum superstitionum fæcibus corruptissimus, nitebatur WINTONIENSIS voluntatem ab ASCHAMO abalienare. Sed ad hujus accusationes WINTONIENSIS semper obduruit, et hominem illum nimis invidiosum sæpius redarguit; plus

Aschami excellentibus donis tribuens, quam alterius qui Aschamum hæreseos accusabat, crebris reprehensionibus unquam acquiescens. Hunc Aschamus ob auctoritatem reverebatur, ob humanitatem quam ille plus aliis sensit diligebat, ob prudentiam suspiciebat. Scripsit ad eum multas epistolas, in quibus Wintoniensis eximiam in se benignitatem prædicavit. Ecce enim hominis gratitudinem, qui noluit vel in hominem superstitiosissimum ingratus haberi, qui potius maluit hunc suum patronum contrario erga puram religionem animo affectum, ob humanitatem in eum et prudentiam laudare, quam ingratissime, ad summum suum dedecus, benificia accepta silentio præterire et turpissima oblivione penitus involvere. Nec Aschamus assentatiunculis ullis Wintoniensis gratiam aucupari tentabat: sed Wintoniensis sua sponte Rogerum Aschamum multis beneficiis, etiam in durissimis illis Aschami temporibus, sibi devinctissimum reddidit. Quid? Hominem de se optime meritum convitiis convelleret? episcopum ad summum honoris gradum eo tempore evectum, benignissimum Mæcenatem suum, maledictis conscinderet? Summum Angliæ cancellarium, qui eum, fortunulis amicisque privatum stipendioque spoliatum, in honorato loco collocarat, stipendium auxerat, in gratiam et favorem principis constituerat, apertis flagitiis convinceret turpissimisque convitiis insectaretur? Quis ullam inconstantiæ notam aut vanæ adulationis maculam ei juste inuret; quod singularem suum amicum amarit, quod hominem benignissimum laudibus ornarit, quod ob beneficia recepta præconiis extulerit? At servivit (inquiunt quidam) tempori, et sese ad rerum commutationem accommodavit. Equidem Rogerus Aschamus invitissime ab Academia, ubi cupiebat caput abscondere et in Musæi angulis latitare, ad inservien-

dum principi accersitus, non tantum tempori quam principi parere et reipublicæ inservire cogebatur.

Etenim certum est, eum potius coactum temporibus paruisse, quam hominum moribus et superstitioni lubens ullo modo acquievisse. Non destitit tamen in illius temporis mores invehi, hominum illius ætatis superstitionem irridere, cæcitatem reprehendere: idcirco dicemus eum religione inconstantem, quod principi paruerit? Vitio hoc ei vertemus, quod homines de se optime meritos, a quibus, propter animi virtutes et ingenii dotes unice amabatur, celebrarit? Appellabimus eum opinione vacillantem, qui tempori, reipublicæ, et principi eo tempore invitus servierit? Sed quid tam multa? Ut ASCHAMUM profecto omni inconstantiæ et vanitatis vel minima suspicione liberem; qui ab instiusmodi nugis et vana illius temporis superstitione immunis semper fuit. ASCHAMUS semper religione idem, honestate idem, fide erga amicos idem, pietate idem, constantia, industria, sedulitate erga duas reginas idem. Præterea Cardinali POLO valde suit familiaris, qui ASCHAMO contra communem superborum cardinalium solitam elationem et arrogantiam, conjunctissime et familiarissime est usus. Hic plus Aschamicæ dictionis puritati, quam sui ipsius eminenti scribendi facultati, qui Latinissime quidem ornatissimeque scripsit, plus tribuisse fertur. Est apud me Cardinalis POLI oratio Anglice ad concilium parlamentarium, quum a pontifice Romano huc legatus fuit missus, habita, elegantissime ab eodem ROGERO ASCHAMO ejusdem Poli rogatu et precibus Latinitate donata, et ad pontificem, ut aiunt, Romanum postea, si diis placet a Cardinale POLO missa; qua, quantum ad dicendi suavitatem verborumque ornatum attinet, nihil est pictius, nihil ornatius, nihil Latinius. Et cui non fuit familiaris eo

tempore ASCHAMUS? Quis non honorifice de ASCHAMO sensit? Apud reginam MARIAM magno favore floruit, cujus liberalitatem sæpissime expertus est. Qua, post quinque annorum, quinque mensium, et undecim dierum imperium, mortua, decimo septimo Novembris 1558, et nobilissima ELIZABETHA munificentissima domina, ad summum Anglorum solatium, ad immensum ROGERI ASCHAMI gaudium, in reginæ MARIÆ vices eodem die suffecta, eundem locum, idem munus retinet, et felicissime obit, quod ante regnante MARIA occuparat. Apud MARIAM, ut supra dixi, ROGERUS ASCHAMUS magna fide, magno etiam favore viguit; sed apud hanc suam amplissimam dominam, munificentissimam principem, doctissimam discipulam, præcipue sic favore et gratia valuit, ut nunquam fere ab ejus latere discederet: quotidie præsens cum ea fuit, assidue aliquid aut Græce aut Latine ei prælegebat: cum ea sæpissime colloquebatur, talis aut tesseris aut aliquo hujusmodi lusu cum ea tempus dissipabat. Ejus consortio et sermone faceto ac in nulla re rudi, valde delectabatur serenissima nostra regina ELIZABETHA. Semper ad eam admittebatur ASCHAMUS, nunquam interclusus aditus, a nullo unquam prohibitus.

Hoc favore principis, hac gratia et præsentia suæ serenissimæ dominæ ELIZABETHÆ, facillime, et ad majorem dignitatem evehi, et facultates multo auctiores reddere potuerit; si aut ambitione, a qua semper animus alienissimus fuit, præceps aut divitiarum cupiditate dignitatisve splendore accensus fuisset. Sed ab omni ambitione sic alienus, ab omni aspirandi amore sic remotus, ab omni petendi desiderio sic abhorrens fuit, quod hac ætate, his hominum moribus, magis admirandum quam imitandum est: ut nihil unquam ab illustrissima liberalissimaque regina ELIZABETHA

petiverit. Natura a petendo adeo aversus, ut nulla unquam opportunitas ad petendum audacem reddiderit, nec ulla necessitas ad aliquid rogandum impellere potuerit. Eum nec natura impudentem, nec pecunia molestum, nec rerum inopia petacem unquam effecit. Quæ hæc hominis industria? quæ honoris et dignitatis contemptio? quæ divitiarum et opum neglectio? Minore dolore afficiebatur, quum ipse indigeret, quam gaudio perfundebatur, quum suam aliis conditionem deploraret. Majore tenebatur desiderio, voluntate, fide, constantia, industria, officiosoque servitio suæ principi satisfacere, quam audacibus et molestis rogatibus eidem molestiam exhibere. Hoc vulgo prædicare et amicis sæpe commemorare solebat, se nunquam in tot pulcherrimis diebus in suæ principis præsentia consumptis, os ad aliquid rogandum aperuisse, quo se et suos ditaret et locupletiores redderet; ita ut nobilissimum virum Marchionem WINTONIENSEM, summum eo tempore Angliæ Thesaurarium, amicum ASCHAMI perdilectum, sæpissime eum objurgasse fertur, quod tam pudens et insolens in petendo esset. "ASCHAME," inquit, "te oportet munus tuum minus officiose obire, et plura audacius a regina petere." Multi præterea solebant ei nimis pudentem pudorem suum in non petendo objicere. "Quid non petis, ASCHAME?" inquiunt; "Quid non regiam majestatem rogatibus sollicitas? Si careas, peccatum est in te, qui petere recusas, non in tua liberalissima domina, quæ largiri tibi complurima cupit." "Malui," respondit ille, "mea diligentia et officio bene de mea principe mereri, quam præclaris muneribus immerito adornari." Nihilominus tamen regia majestas multis eum et magnis beneficiis e sua munifica bonitate collocupletavit. Sed ab illa semper prius dabantur, quam ab illo petebantur. Tanta erat

hujus hominis ab omni largitione et muneribus accipiendis abstinentia, ut quum pro eo honorato loco, quo fungebatur, pro ea gratia et favore, quo apud suam principem florebat, multa et præclara munera, et ut HOMERUS vocat ἀγλαὰ ἄποινα ad eum mitterentur, ea omnia magno cum fastidio repudiabat, aspernabatur, remittebat; sæpissime dictitans Deum ei linguam venalem non dedisse, ut aut muneribus corrumperetur aut aperte pecunia oppugnaretur. Maluit parce et duriter vitam degere, quam fœdissimis largitionis fœcibus mentem polluere. • Ingravescente jam ætate, a nocturnis et pomeridianis studiis abhorrebat; antelucanis et matutinis temporibus legebat, commentabatur, studebat, scribebat. Erat corpore imbecillis et valetudinarius, multis morbis fractus, continentibus febribus correptus, variis ægrotationibus afflictus: quæ paucis ante mortem annis eum in hecticam febrim conjecerunt, quo tempore de ejus salute desperatum fuit. Sed ea fuit Dei erga illum bonitas, ut tandem medicorum ope ex ea convaluit. Omnia adversa æquo ferebat animo; nec duris calamitatum difficultatibus animo consternari, nec prosperis rerum successibus insolescere solebat. Angoribus sese nonnunquam dedidit, et ob quorundam inhumanitatem, qui ei fidelissimo infidi fuerunt, vehementer se excruciavit. Tempus omne, quod a matutinis studiis aut majestatis regiæ privatis negotiis supererat, id totum aut honestis exercitiis et oblectationibus ante a me commemoratis, aut amicorum mutuis confabulationibus, aut colloquiis cum peregrinis hominibus tradidit.

Magna in victu temperantia et abstinentia fuit; a piscibus natura abhorruit, et ob eam ipsam caussam, regnante EDVARDO ab Archiepiscopo CANTUARIENSI licentia ei a piscium esu concessa fuit, et imperium

tenente R. Maria, aliis uti rationibus cogebatur, ad conservandam corporis sanitatem. Nunquam studiosorum rogatibus, opera, consilio, labore defuit : pauperibus scholasticis plurima dona est elargitus : familiaribus amicis multa dedit : eorum necessitati sepissime subvenit. Nullum carmen ei magis placuit, aut quod probavit magis, quam hoc MARTIALIS :

Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis,
Quas solus dederis, semper habebis opes.

Et sic eruditione excellens, sic vitæ integritate præstans, sic purioris religionis studio spectatus, compluri misque percarus, magno studio colebat Deum, omnium bonorum largitorem, omnium virtutum fontem uberrimum. Sermones pii et honesti erant, qui Dei gloriam maxime illustrabant, et privatim domi se divino cultui quotidie dedebat ; peccata sua assidue agnoscebat, misericordiam divinam vehementer imploralat, veniam submisse deprecabatur. Colloquia foris cum amicis de Deo, de humana miseria, iniquitate, malevolentia, invidia : de maximis Dei beneficiis in humanum genus collatis, de mirabili Dei bonitate in creando, redimendo, reparando, vocando, sanctificando, eligendo nos miserrimos homines, semper instituebantur. Homines fide dignissimi, qui eo familiariter usi sunt, ferunt illum fuisse et domi apud suos maxime pium, in colloquiis modestissimum, erga principem fidelissimum, amicorum amantissimum, literarum avidissimum, in ambulationibus aut itineribus assidue Dei erga homines beneficia commemorantem.

Et hæc de ejus sanctissima et integerrima vita a me dicta sufficiant. Reliquum est, ut de ejus ex vita discessu pauca dicam. Ut vita pia, honesta, integra, a vitiis abhorrens, virtutibus et studiis dedita, præclaris actionibus relucens, nemini nocens, nulli inimica

exstitit, sic ejus obitus Christianus et vere pius, vitæ per omnia similis fuit. Nec vitam honestissime et piissime actam potest sequi mala mors ; qui pie vivunt, pie etiam moriuntur. Erat, ut supra dixi, multis febribus afflictatus, quæ et vires per se imbecilles multos annos comminuerant, et mirifice afflixerant ; proximis autem superioribus ante mortem annis hectica febre laborabat, ex qua licet aliquantulum convaluisset, quasdam tamen fæces reliquit, quæ præ nimio quodam studio in versibus ad regiam majestatem, pro insequentis novi anni auspicio, condendis excitatæ et incensæ, ingravescere cœperunt. Quum enim in illis contexendis versibus ingenii vires valde occupasset, et ex nimio scribendarum literarum studio noctes multas insomnes produxisset, frigus contraxit, quo correptus in gravem morbum incidit vigesimo tertio Decembris Anno Domini 1568.

Huic ægrotanti sæpe adfuit vir, ornatissimus theologus, ALEXANDER NOWELLUS, Paulinæ ecclesiæ dignissimus decanus ; qui eum consolabatur, qui pie et sancte saluberrimis verbis, hujus vitæ tædia, hujus mundi miserias ante oculos posuit, et divinissimis sonis animam pavit : ita ut post illius sanctissimi viri ab eo discessum, ROGERUS ASCHAMUS cum quadam exultatione prædicabat, ALEXANDRUM NOWELLUM, pium hominem, integerrimæ vitæ virum, animam suam nunquam perituris cibis pavisse. Cœpit morbus magis ac magis eum affligere, nullo tempore quiescere aut dormire permisit. Famulorum manibus nonnunquam sursum deorsum ferebatur, et cunabulis, ad provocandum somnum præparatis, infantium more volvebatur. Sed hæc somnum oculis inducere non potuerunt. Felici memoria multa repetebat eidem colendissimo decano, aliisque adstantibus amicis divinitus de Deo, et ejus misericordia, amore, beneficiis in humanum genus col-

locatis. Et quis tum sanctius, quis divinius, quis Christianius loqui aut cogitare potuerit? Valde illud mihi laudabile videtur, quod de eo idem vir sanctissimus ALEXANDER NOWELLUS commemorat: se nunquam vidisse aut audivisse ullum hominem aut honestius vixisse, aut exspirasse Christianius. Cujus verbis et fidei ego tantum tribuo, ut putem illum nec posse propter pietatem fingere, nec ville propter prudentiam et integritatem nisi verissima pro certo affirmare. Fuit enim ROGERI ASCHAMI vitæ morumque testis locupletissimus, summa familiaritate ei conjunctissimus, mortis etiam oculatissimus testis. Postea uxori commendabat sua omnia, maxime vero suavissimos liberos; rogabat ut pro suo arbitrio omnia dirigeret, ut materno animo eorum educationi consuleret, ut virtute, pietate, literis, bonis moribus instituendos curaret. Adfuit etiam huic jamjam morituro vir honestate et eruditione præstans Dominus GRAVETTUS, Sancti Sepulchri vicarius, qui eam ob caussam venit, ut eundem ROGERUM graviter ægrotantem viseret, consolaretur, officioque ei debito fungeretur. "Non veni," inquit, "ut te doceam, Domine ASCHAME, novi enim te esse undique colendissimi viri ALEXANDRI NOWELLI verbis et tui ipsius eruditione instructissimum; sed ut te consoler et officium meum præstem." Respondit Aschamus, "Magno ego crucior dolore; gravi opprimor morbo: hæc mea est confessio, hæc fides, hæc precatio; hoc totum est quod volo: *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.*" Quam divinam et cœlestem Divi PAULI sententiam multoties antea ALEXANDRO NOWELLO repetiverat. Quum hanc sententiam tanquam cygneam cantionem et novissima verba protulisset, siluit; et hora a meridie fere decima, animam suam, quæ antea cum Deo esse toties concupivit, Deo, maximis adstantium ploratibus et gemitibus, red-

didit. Quum hujus mortis verus rumor Aulæ penetralia penetrasset, et ad serenissimæ reginæ aures pervenisset; dici vix potest, quo illa subito percellebatur dolore, quum de suo mortuo, ASCHAMO intelligeret. Ferunt Divam ELIZABETHAM tum dixisse, se malle decem librarum millia in mare projecisse, quam suum ASCHAMUM amisisse.

Doluit ejus morte princeps, doluit populus, doluit tota Aula. Quanto vero dolore hæc ROGERI ASCHAMI mors Argentinam afflixerit, et in ea præcipue JOANNEM STURMIUM et reliquos doctissimos viros ROGERO ASCHAMO familiaritate conjunctissimos, præstat in eorum animis relinquere, qui et summum dolorem senserint, et hujus obitum gravissime tulerint, quam fama et auditione frigide et exiliter commemorare. Obiit Decembris tricesimo, anno 1568, ætatis suæ annum agens quinquagesimum tertium. Sepultus est sine ulla funeris pompa Januarii quarto, in æde Sancto Sepulchro sacra, extra carcerem, quæ Nova Porta a Londinensibus appellatur. Habita est eo die, in eo templo, a colendissimo viro ALEXANDRO NOWELLO doctissima et piissima concio, in maxima hominum frequentia. In qua homo disertissimus, suavissima ut semper solet lingua, eloquentissimi hominis et perdilecti amici dolendum funus sic adornavit, ut neque honestissimi cujusquam vita uberioribus laudibus condecorari, nec acerbissima alicujus mors dolentius et amarius deplorari potuisse existimaretur. Deus faxit, ut nos qui superstites sumus, integerrimæ ejus vitæ et Christianissimæ mortis vestigiis insistentes, similiter vivamus, similiter etiam, quum nostra nos fata tulerint, moriamur.

A vita et obitu, ad scriptionis laudes, et dictionis puritatem meum nunc convertam sermonem. Tantum ego tribuo semperque tribui ROGERI ASCHAMI judicio

et ejus scriptionis suavitati, quantum ei tribuendum est, qui in linguarum artiumque cognitione, in philosophiæ præceptis, dicendi scribendique facultate, sacrarum literarum mysteriis, non tam discendo, quam agendo exercitandoque magna cum laude est versatus. Neque enim erudita solum sunt ejus scripta et suavia, sed pia etiam et Christiana: unde apparet eum et spectasse verum studiorum finem, et assequutum eum esse, ut cum eruditione singulari et dicendi scribendique admirabili facultate, virtutem, pietatem, morum suavitatem, erga amicos fidem et maximum amorem conjungeret. Quoties igitur has pereruditas ejus epistolas jam quarto a me auctas et locupletatas, aliasque lucubrationes theologicas lego, quod sæpissime quidem facere soleo, et materia illectus et optimis dicendi luminibus permotus; toties et eum admiror, et illustrissimæ nostræ reginæ, quæ eo præceptore est usa, totique Angliæ gratulor, cui tantum honorem, apud exteros, propter eruditionem, comportavit, tantumque apud suos utilitatis, propter prudentiam, rerum usum, et principis institutionem attulit, quantum adferre et vir optimus, subjectus fidelissimus, et homo doctissimus potuerit. Quicquid scripsit, polite scripsit, et legentes omnes summa perfudit jucunditate. Dici vix potest, quantopere vira summa eruditione præstantes, magna eloquentia ornatissimi, laudarint in Aschami scriptis civilitatem, modestiam, humanitatem, et charites innumerabiles: suavitatem in sententiis, elegantiam in verbis, moderationem in numeris, concinnitatem in rebus contexendis, lucem in omnibus, nihil non in eo exquisitum. Sed tamen nihil affectatum, vires insignes sine immanitate, dulcedinem summam sine ignavia, brevitatem cum succulentia, rursus prolixitatem sine luxuria, rotundum quiddam et crispum, sed sine æterna

micatione, qua seculum PLINII laborabat: castigatam et enucleatam dictionem, sed sine anxietate scrupulosa, qua Ciceroniani nostro ævo sese emaciant, et quasi compedibus revinciunt. JOANNES STURMIUS testatur in elocutione et dicendi generibus nihil se vidisse ROGERI ASCHAMI scriptis acutius. Sic enim in quadam ait epistola:

> Literæ tuæ non solum suaves, verum etiam elegantes sunt. tanta enim in illis est flexibilitas verborum, et ad acutas comitatis, et ad graves philosophiæ sententias; talis in collocando ordo, ut tum scriptionis suavitatem admirer, tum etiam intelligam a te accurate esse compositas; nisi a te nihil proficiscatur incompositum, quantumvis subito scriptum.

HIERONYMUS OSORIUS Lusitanus, Sylvensis episcopus, homo laudibus eloquentiæ ornatissimus, qui ROGERUM ASCHAMUM magno amore complexus est, nihil putavit esse uberius, nihil in hoc genere aptius. PETRUS NANNIUS Alcmarianus, in collegio Bussidiano apud Lovanienses Latinus professor, dixit nihil esse disertius, nihil politius ASCHAMI literis. MICHAELUS TOXITES Rhætus, laureatus poeta, judicavit esse nihil suavius, nihil eruditius. HIERONYMUS WOLFIUS Œtingensis, nihil concinnius esse censuit. Multique alii eloquentiæ, eruditionis, et dicendi virtutibus perpoliti, domi forisque celebres, optime semper de ROGERI ASCHAMI scriptione et dictionis puritate existimarunt. Taceo nostrates: cardinalem POLUM, STEPHANUM WINTONIENSEM, JOANNEM CHECUM, THOMAM SMITHUM, duo propugnacula, duo ornamenta eruditionis, literarum, Academiæ, Angliæ, ROBERTUM PEMBERUM, RICHARDUM BRANDISBÆUM, JOANNEM CHRISTOPHERSONUM, GULIELMUM BILLUM, GUALTERUM HADDONUM, JACOBUM PILKINTONUM, THOMAM WILSONUM, NICOLAUM CARRUM, et alios complurimos, qui summa doctrina eluxerunt, et

de ASCHAMO semper præclare senserunt. Quorum fere omnium literæ ad ASCHAMUM missæ sunt domi apud me hujus rei testes locupletissimæ. Ex his aliquot nunc primum in lucem eduntur. Hic si se totum ad scribendum tradidisset, et ea quæ a CICERONE, PLATONE, ARISTOTELE, DEMOSTHENE, ISOCRATE, THUCYDIDE, et HERODOTO didicisset, tractare voluisset: quis BEMBUS ornatius, quis SADOLETUS disertius, quis LONGOLIUS politius, quis MANUTIUS præclarius et artificiosius scribendi genus perpolire potuisset?

Duo tantum libri, *Toxophilus* et *Præceptor*, cum parvo quodam tractatu de rebus in Germania gestis, Anglico sermone conscripti, in hominum versantur manibus: qui et ipsi magnam ejus eruditionem redolent, et suavem scribendi elegantiam ostendunt: quos si Romano amictu convestire voluisset, nihil in eo genere illustrius, nihil copiosius, nihil ornatius fuisset. Præterea has epistolas variis dispersas locis reliquit, quas, post distracta priorum editionum omnia volumina, cum aliis scriptis quæ nunc sunt edita, ad vestram utilitatem collegi, quæ certe non obscure ostendunt, ex cujus artificis officina prodierint. In quibus præclarum habebitis imitandi exemplum; ad quod si vestrum vos scribendi epistolas cursum direxeritis; et puram vobis dictionem et eximiam scribendi facultatem comparabitis. Quam scribendi et eloquendi præstantiam ut facilius consequamini, ego, pro mea jejuna et exili facultatula, pauca de eloquentia dicam, et viam, qua ad scribendi dicendique elegantiam pervenire possitis, ante oculos vestros dilucide ponam: in qua re tertium institutionis meæ membrum collocabitur. Magnum est hoc quod suscepi, magisque arduum et difficile, quam ut perexiguæ ingenii mei vires ferre posse videantur. Nam dicendum mihi est de summa

ac divina virtute, quæ eloquentia nominatur; cujus laudi ac præstantiæ parem orationem vix posse inveniri facile animadverto. Sed si vestras aures attentas præbueritis, et hæc, quæ a me arido quodam orationis genere proferentur, humaniter et amice perlegeritis, efficiam profecto, ut verba mea non solum jucunda vobis existant, sed etiam, ut intelligatis nihil vobis tam esse expetendum in hac vita quam dicendi copiam; nihilque adolescentulis studiosis magis dignum quam sapientem atque ornatam orationem, puram et enucleatam dictionem sibi comparare. Quamobrem totam hanc orationem meam sic instituam, ut partim ad laudem et præstantiam eloquentiæ, de qua dicere proposui, dirigatur; partim vero in excitandis animis vestris ad illius studium, ROGERI ASCHAMI exemplo, tota sit occupata. Quanquam in prima parte non multum mihi elaborandum esse puto: eloquendi enim elegantia passim eloquentissimorum virorum encomiis ac laudibus est celebrata, atque multorum literis ac sermone illustrata, ut nihil sit quod aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum a me adferri queat. Idcirco leviter et strictim attingam.

Est certe una ex maximis virtutibus eloquentia, quæ ab eloquendo nomen accipit, quod is, qui ea instructus et ornatus sit, sapienter et ornate eloqui possit omnia ea, quæ animo suo comprehensa habet. Qua re nihil præstantius, nihil præclarius, nihil divinius dici aut excogitari potest. Etenim quum inter Deum et belluam homo quasi medius interjectus sit, hinc Deum rationis et orationis præstantia attingens, illinc vel voluptatis titillatione in sensus influente, vel affectionum immanitate in imperium rationis irruente, inter belluas repens; est illud profecto doctrinæ genus studiis nostris aptissimum, et hominibus etiam dignissimum,

quo non corporis sensuumque curatio suscipiatur, sed quo sermo ad diserte loquendum, ratio ad divinitus intelligendum provehatur. Et quanquam cæterarum artium, sed illius inprimis præclara laus sit, quæ morbos depellere et corpus vitamque nostram scienter continere potest: tamen quum ad hoc præstandum infinitæ belluæ et cautiores ne lædantur, et peritiores ut curentur, repertæ sint; illam sane doctrinam, licet vitæ nostræ perutilem, ut nimis tamen cum belluis communem, cum dicendi intelligendique præstanti facultate, qua sola nota a belluis discrepamus, quo solo judicio divinitatis participes sumus, comparare non audeo. Itaque nihil homini vel ad usum utilius, vel ad laudem præclarius, vel ad immortalitatem stabilius video; nec aliquid vel adolescentium studiis dignius aut accommodatius puto, quam sermonem ad ornate dicendum excolendo, rationem ad prudenter intelligendum instruendo, divinam illam vim eloquentiæ consectari. Ad quam quum pervenire non possumus, quia ejus omnis adipiscendæ spem omnem adimit nobis ANTONIUS apud CICEROREM, quam proxime tamen aspicere, et aspirare omni studio et diligentia est elaborandum. Qua profecto eloquentia, præterquam quod nihil cum bestiis commune habeat, sed tota ex ipsa divinitate hausta et delibata, et ita cum ea implicata et cohærens sit, ut hæc tria apud Latinos, sermo, ratio, et Deus, apud PLATONEM tantum λόγου appellatione includantur, quod verbum nos eloquentiam aptissime dicere possumus; non certe ego video, quid et homini ad spem optabilius, ad cognitionem jucundius, ad usum melius, ad gloriam majus, ad potentiam amplius, ad similitudinem divinæ mentis propius excogitari possit. Sine qua cæteræ artes non modo suos fines non tueri, sed mutæ, inutiles, nimisque sordidæ esse solent. Ut

enim hominis decus ingenium, sic illius ingenii lumen est eloquentia. Huc accedit, quod hominum animos flectere, quo velit impellere, unde autem velit deducere, sola oratione homo sapiens et eloquens potest. Hæc admodum laudabilis, hæc præclara et latissime patens, hæc una, teste CICERONE, in omni libero populo, dum in hominum genere fuit, perhonesta et mirabilis est visa, maximeque in pacatis tranquillisque civitatibus semper floruit, semperque dominata est. Non ignoro hanc dicendi exercitationem, quibusdam rem valde molestam ac laboriosam videri; ideoque illos difficulter adduci posse, ut se huic rei penitus dedant, atque in ea comparanda summo studio elaborent. Sed qui magnarum rerum gloriam adamarint, illos neque difficultas, quæ huic rui inesse videtur, absterrere, neque labor frangere neque desperatio avocare ullo modo poterit. Sed hi potius fructus uberrimos, honores amplissimos, gloriam sempiternam, quæ inde paratur, ob oculos sibi semper positam habebunt. Non enim tantæ rei adeptionem, difficultate, labore, et fastidio, quæ momentanea sunt, sed honore, gloria, ac voluptate, quæ perpetuo durant, metiri debent. Quum autem homines natura ita comparati sunt, ut utilitate rei plurimum moveantur, ac ante omnia quid expediat spectare soleant: non prorsus erit supervacaneum, dicendi rationis utilitatem hoc loco breviter attingere. Equidem ex copia dicendi fructus copiosissimi atque infinitæ commoditates proveniunt, non tantum ad eos, qui eam sibi vendicant; sed etiam ad rempublicam universam. Illi enim habent, quo se et vitam suam contra insidias inimicorum defendere ac tueri possint: hæc vero, subsidio et auxilio illius præstantissimæ virtutis, facilius et gubernari et amplificari et conversari potest. Prudentis enim oratoris moderatione ac sapientia,

perditi et scelerati homines e civitate pelluntur; boni et salutares reipublicæ cives in ea retinentur; nocentes plectuntur; innocentes autem conservantur; ac ut plura, quæ sunt pene innumerabilia, breviter comprehendam, salus totius reipublicæ hac dicendi facultate continetur.

Restat nunc, ut de necessitate aliquid dicam. Sic igitur statuere debemus, sapientiam dicendi, ad retinendam religionem, ad conservandam libertatem, ad tuendas leges, ad pravas et falsas animis hominum insitas opiniones evellendas, ad afflictos excitandos, ad amicos periculis liberandos, ad literarum monumenta posteritati mandanda, ad amicitias comparandas, ad confirmandam civium tranquillitatem summopere necessariam esse. Sine qua non solum hi, qui ad reipublicæ gubernacula accedunt, sed etiam theologi, atque illi qui jura proficentur, locum suum admodum difficulter tueri possunt. Sed quoniam quibusdam hæc res maximam in se difficultatem habere videri queat, præsertim illis, qui viam et rationem qua illam consequi possint ignorant; idcirco viam quandam brevem, certam, atque compendiariam commonstrabo; ut, si eam ingressi fueritis, ad eam dicendi scribendique facultatem, quam ROGERUS ASCHAMUS feliciter est assequutus, pervenire queatis. Quinque igitur numero sunt, quibus omnis dicendi scribendique ratio continetur, perficitur, absolvitur: natura, doctrina, cognitio rerum, imitatio disertorum et probatissimorum auctorum, usus seu exercitatio. Equidem ut a natura exordiar, nemo vestrum est, qui ingenio vel natura mediocri non valeat, et natura satis bona si non optima sit præditus. Sed hanc naturæ bonitatem, quæ sæpe exigua videtur, industria ac diligentia excitari oportet. Sæpenumero enim fit, ut etiam optima ingenia so-

cordia atque desidia corrumpantur ac depraventur. Hoc ita statutum sit, fundamenta seminaque artis dicendi jecisse et inchoasse ipsam naturam. Quoniam vero natura sæpe ordine caret, et se ex difficilibus controversiis explicare non potest, recte accedunt rhetoricæ artis præcepta; quæ etiam erudiunt, ac viam ostendunt, modumque dant, quem sequi oporteat. Hæc bonam naturam reddunt meliorem, et vagam moderantur, faciuntque oratorem, ut ab eo, quod proposuerit minus aberret: hæc sermonem gravibus sententiis illustrant, hæc orationem lectissimis verbis expoliunt: hæc hominum animos potentius, eo quo velit orator, impellere docent. Sine his nemo neque bene dicere neque ornate scribere potest. Hæc, inquam, artis rhetoricæ præcepta, ex optimorum rhetoricorum libris discenda sunt. Huc accedat rerum cognitio, sine qua præcepta illa inania ac prorsus nullius momenti sunt. Quomodo hoc fieri potest non a me, sed a CICERONE audietis; qui in eo libro qui *Orator ad Brutum* inscribitur, præcepta et vias ad artem eloquentiæ proxime ducentes optime tradit. CICERONIS hæc quamvis non verba ipsa, tamen mens est, omnem eloquentiam ex duabus rebus, materia et tractatione, efflorescere. Materies in rebus et verbis cernitur. Res ex historicorum, ethicorum, physicorum, politicorumque libris, qui rerum copiam cognitionemque satis magnam suppeditant, hauriendæ sunt: verba, quum hæc propria, illa translata esse debent; vel a CICERONE si Latine; a PLATONE, DEMOSTHENE, ISOCRATE, si Græce malueris; vel ab horum simillimis sumenda. Tractatio partim ex dialectica disputandi ratione, partim ex rhetorica amplificandi facultate comparatur. Ex his fontibus totum illud eloquentiæ flumen effluit, cujus cursu universi sensus atque animi

hominum rapi convehique solent. Itaque quisquis ille est, qui prudenter cogitare et cogitata apte explicare cupit, ab historia, modo CICERO aliquid videt, ad physicam, et ethicen, et ita ad ipsam divinam eloquentiæ vim, quasi iter quoddam affectare debet. Ad hæc eloquentissimorum hominum scripta nobis proponuntur, ut ad illa tanquam ad regulam atque ideam compositionem nostram referamus. Ita enim consiliuu et mens auctoris ostenditur, ejusque tractatio atque compositio, ut etiam simile aliquid effingere non admodum difficile videatur. Nihil igitur est, quod nobis difficile videri queat; nihil quo ignaviæ nostræ excusationem prætexere possimus; nihil denique quo non summo studio ad tantam adipiscendam et dicendi et scribendi facultatem contendere debeamus. Tantum adhuc superest, ut his de quibus dictum est usus et quotidiana exercitatio adjungatur, sine qua omnia mutila et manca existunt. Hæc promptum facit hominem, hæc perfectum reddit, hæc cætera consummat, et perficit omnia. Vim aut artis, aut imitationis, aut usus, nulla in re planius vel evidentius videre possumus, quam in his sordibus et rebus mechanicis, quarum rerum experti, quum omnem in eisdem vitam suam conterunt, ipsa rei veritate persuasi trito illo et omnibus in ore jactato proverbio affirmant, "Usum facere artifices." Qui vero in arte imbibenda et ejus abstrusissima cognoscendo omnem suam operam ponunt, nec ullam usus exercitationisque curam habent, si forte patrocinium cujusvis suscipiant, adeo frigidi, exsangues, enervatique apparent, ut merito ab omnibus explodi et exsibilari judicentur. Id quod olim accidisse constat HERMOGENI et QUINTILIANO, dicendi artificio instructissimis. Porro, qui aliorum imitatione semper nituntur et nunquam se scribendo dicendove

exercent, perinde miseri et infelices sunt, ac si quis nec cernere nec audire nec incedere possit, nisi quum a proximo oculos, aures, et pedes mutuetur. Nec quantum in omnibus rebus usus possit, videlicet quonam modo pluviarum guttulæ dura ac horrida saxa crebro dilabendi usu cavant; nec quomodo ferrei vomeres vel leviusculo terræ mollis attritu consumuntur; nec ingentem usus potentiam in rebus inanimis nunc declarabo: sed solum quantum in humana sorte conditioneque potest, commonstrabo. Quum multa, multorum juxta opinionem, in infantia nostra, nobis a natura beneficia tribuuntur, ego vel ea omnia, vel certe meliorem eorundem partem, ab usu consuetudineque provenire contenderem. Nam ut maxime quæ maxima sunt persequar, putamusne ipsam fandi facultatem, qua cæteris præstamus animantibus, a natura nobis concessam, vel usu et consuetudine potius comparatam fuisse? Fateor, ut ante commemini, naturam semina jecisse, at maturasse usum, inchoasse naturam, at perfecisse consuetudinem. Nam quis vel unam voculam quæ rem aliquam significat exprimere queat, quam non crebra consuetaque auditione ab aliis acceperit? Seponamus puerum statim natum ab humano consortio; quodnam idioma usurpabit? quales edet sonos? an non vel ululabit, vel rugiet? cesset ergo natura tantum sibi applaudere propter hoc donum: quod nisi usus perficit absolvitque, rude, horridum, incultum, cumque aliis animantibus commune erit. Adeo enim usus nulla in re a natura separatur, adeoque mutua inter se junctura copulantur, ut merito a M. T. Cicerone altera natura appelletur. In liberalibus vero scientiis, usus vim potius admirari, quam ullis verbis exprimere cuiquam obvium est. In grammatica, copiam ac verborum supellectilem parat. In

dialectica, inveniendi acumen excitat, judicandi prudentiam acuit. In rhetorica, quibuscunque affectibus concutere, in quamcunque vis animi concitationem rapere, facile dabit usus. Quid in cæteris moror, quum M. T. CICERO vocet usum optimum dicendi magistrum? Quid, quod etiamnum multa sunt, quæ nec naturæ nec artis neque imitationis adminiculo, sed solum usu et consuetudine peraguntur? Nam MILO ille Crotoniates athleta fortissimus, neque ullius artis præceptione instructus, nec quovis imitationis exemplo adjutus, nec ullo raro naturæ beneficio imbutus, sed assiduo quotidianoque ferendi usu corroboratus, vitulum illum, quantumvis grandem, in montem Olympum asportavit. Huc DEMOSTHENEM in medium adducerem, nisi illa historia nimis trita, nimisque decantata fuisset: qui si ulla politiore literatura ornatus erat, ut erat ornatissimus, id totum præcipue exercitationi acceptum referre debuit. Et quemadmodum ingenium quantumvis eximium aut præstabile, nisi diligenti usu exerceatur excolaturque, multa obfuscatur rubigine; ita quantumvis tardum hebesque ingenium impigra exercitatione, solers, sagax, valdeque splendescens esse possit. Ex his omnibus scire licet, nihil esse tam arduum aut difficile, quod usus et exercitatio non superet aut devincat. Hæc exercitatio variis modis suscipitur, audiendo, discendo, legendo, meditando, scribendo, convertendo, imitando, declamando. Sed potissimum in his tribus versatur, ut vel subito vel sumpto spatio ad cogitandum aliquid dicamus, vel stilo ac scribendi consuetudine illud idem efficiamus. Stilo CICERO primas partes attribuit; commentationi secundas; subitæ vero dictioni postremas; propterea, quod subita dicendi consuetudo institui non possit utiliter et cum fructu, nisi diligens scribendi exercitatio antecesserit. In

eloquentia enim comparanda caput est, quam plurimum scribere. Atque ob eam caussam Cicero stilum, effectorem, et ut antea dixi, magistrum dicendi appellare non dubitavit. Nam et omnes locos, qui modo in ea re inessent de qua scribimus, ostendere se nobis atque occurrere : omnesque sententias graves, atque verba maxime illustria sub stili acumen subire : tum ipsam collocationem, concordiam, conformationemque verborum in sæpe scribendo perfici constanter affirmavit. Hisce exercitationibus se ROGERUS ASCHAMUS sæpe multumque exercuit ; et natura habilis, artis præceptionibus potens, rerum cognitione excultus, CICERONIS imitatione adjutus, usu et quotidiana aliquid scribendi exercitatione corroboratus, ad tantam et tam eximiam scribendi dicendique elegantiam, quam, si quis alius, felicissime est adeptus, facillime pervenit. Quare quum exercitatio stili et scribendi assiduitas tantas commoditates habeat, tantamque laudem ab eo, qui parens et quasi torrens omnis eloquentiæ dicitur, mereatur : atque quum ROGERUS ASCHAMUS, cujus vos jam mea opera suavissimis epistolis aliisque scriptis fruemini, hisce quinque rebus tantam scribendi suavitatem assequutus fuerit, usu vero et exercitatione potissimum confirmaverit et quasi callum illis obduxerit ; vos oro, studiosi adolescentes, et si adhortandi locus detur vos adhortor, ut in hanc rem diu multumque incumbatis et scribendi crebritate vos sic exerceatis, ut quum subito dicendum sit, ea quæ dicuntur simillima scriptis esse videantur. Quæ res summam admirationem, maximam laudem, sempiternam gloriam merebitur. Quapropter, quum neminem remoretur difficultas, sed alliciat facilitas, moveat dignitas, hortetur utilitas, urgeat necessitas, vos iterum hortor, ingenui adolescentes, ut eam virtutem, quam summus

honor, gloria, ac præclaræ laudes comitantur, vobis longo usu ac diuturna exercitatione admodum reddatis familiarem. Sic enim fiet, ut vobis atque vestris honori, reipublicæ autem et patriæ emolumento esse possitis: quæ præclara dignitatis præmia, et eximia patriæ ornamenta, ad maximum suum decus, ad reipublicæ summam utilitatem ROGERUM ASCHAMUM consequutum esse, animadvertistis.

SEVEN LETTERS

OF

GILES ASCHAM,

ROGER ASCHAM'S SON,

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURLEIGH.

(NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.)

I.—FOR THE PAYMENT OF HIS PENSION.

Feb., 1581—2.

Mortuo patre, vir illustrissime, divina reginæ liberalitate, admirabili tua ope, aliqua matris meæ industria, stipendium quoddam mihi benigne concedebatur, quo facilius res ad usum vitæ necessariæ, et scientia ad cultum ingenii idonea suppeditarentur. Jam tandem, ornatissime domine, quum maxime urgeat necessitas et vehementer opprimat calamitas, hoc reginæ beneficium extra præscriptos terminos et constitutos limites et fines sibi propositos, temporis dinturnitate egreditur. Unde obversatur mihi ante oculos perinsignis quædam eademque duplicata scribendi materies, celebritas dignitatis tuæ et humanitatis amplitudo. Hinc gratulandi occasio, illinc interpellandi opportunitas, hinc antiquæ benignitatis tuæ celebrandæ grata recordatio, illinc novi beneficii obtinendi spes non exigua: hinc anteactæ vitæ subsidium, illinc futuri status propugnaculum. Sed relicta præterita tua beneficentia, supplex ad præsentem tuam confugio bonitatem, miser opem imploro, infelix invoco humanitatem: te unum quem universi colunt, te solum quem singuli admiran-

tur, te hominem, quem Anglia Atlantem, regina Nestorem, Academia Mecænatem, curia senatorem agnoscit et jure optimo sibi vindicat, futurum confido et in justissima petitione subsidium unicum, et in miserrima fortuna solamen maximum. Si dignetur igitur tua amplitudo, opprimente miseria, urgente necessitate, commovente penuria, veterem reginæ liberalitatem redintegrare, ut in eadem benignitatis tuæ beneficentia, qua pater semper sublevatus, filius aliquandiu, tanquam in tutissimo diversorio in quo omnis vitæ salus sita est, possit acquiescere; ab illo ego, qui optime semper potest, et admirabiliter sæpe solet, summis precibus contendam, ut amplitudinis tuæ splendorem, cui mortalium nemo accumulate possit satisfacere, ipse velit ampliori dignitatis accessu adaugere. Tuæ amplitudinis studiosissimus ÆGIDIUS ASCHAM.

MS. Lansd. 34, p. 21.

II.—THAT HIS LORDSHIP WOULD TAKE CARE THAT HER MAJESTY'S LETTERS IN HIS BEHALF MIGHT NOT FAIL.

Invitus facio, honoratissime domine, ut ullam mearum rerum curam toties tibi totius reipublicæ onus sustinenti imponam : verum quum inopia non meam vitam ad miseriam solum detrudat, sed et patris memoriam ad ignominiam præcipitet, amplitudini tuæ gratum magis et pudori meo honestius esse judicavi, in supplicando satis molestus, quam in tacendo nimis imprudens haberi. Humiliter igitur, et in summa necessitate, summis precibus bonitatem tuam (quæ si deserit, perimus) oro atque obtestor, ut literas sapienti æquitate tua approbatas et illustrissimæ reginæ justa et inviolanda auctoritate confirmandas, aut aliorum potenti gratia infringi aut Magistri collegii et Seniorum importunitate (si in re justa et honesta petitione a reginæ

voluntate alieni et honoris tui judicio contrarii esse possint) perverti, aut humili vitæ meæ obscuritate debilitari ne patiare. Atque ut hoc beneficium non amicorum multitudine, aut meo merito, sed patris nomine, tuo solo patrocinio et lætor et glorior me obtinuisse, cogita quæso, humanissime domine, non solum ÆGIDIUM ASCHAMUM filium egenum, literarum cupidum, obvolutum ad pedes tuos te intueri, verum etiam, quem exaudire semper soles, debita industria de potentissima regina, fideli probitate de optimo domino, diligenti cura de florentissimo regno non male meritum, ROGERUM ASCHAM patrem mortuum, de sua fama et filii conditione solicitum audire supplicantem. Deus Optimus Maximus amplitudinem tuam illustriori gloria indies adaugeat, virtutem cœlesti misericordia remuneret, memoriam eternitate terminet, vitam immortalitate coronet. Tuæ amplitudini deditissimus ÆGIDIUS ASCHAM.

MS. Lansd. 107, p. 6.

III.—FOR THE QUEEN'S LETTERS AND HIS LORDSHIP'S TO THE COLLEGE FOR A FELLOWSHIP FOR HIM.

Sep. 3, 1583.

Quantum serenissimæ reginæ literæ, vir omni laudis genere ornatissime, non modo ad sodalitium comparandum sed cujuslibet boni spem valere debeant, satis amplitudini tuæ cognitum est, ut sub tam augustæ majestatis patrocinio collocatus mihi visus sim optimæ spei fundamenta posuisse. Verum enimvero negotium summæ difficultatis magnique laboris esse solet, in quo nihil aut periculi ad timorem aut metus ad diffidentiam relinquatur. Hac igitur in causa bonos architectos censeo imitandos, qui quum ad perpetuitatem ædificent, columnam magna vi obfirmant, atque ita inserunt, ut ejus præsidio reliquum ædificium et ad speciem illustre, et ad diuturnitatem stabile permaneat. Ab amplitu-

dine igitur tua humillimis modis contendo petoque vehementer, ut tuarum literarum commendatio et auctoritatis vis reginæ literis quasi illius bonitatis sigillum tuæque humanitatis et benevolentiæ indicium accedat. Cujus benignitatis auxilio Magistro et Senioribus omnis recusandi spes sublata erit, negotii excitandi occasio tolletur, mihi ad doctrinam aditus patefiet, et ingenii fructum et doctrinæ nec nascentem inopia resecare, nec maturescentem miseria extinguere valebit. Deus qui optime semper potest et admirabiliter sæpe solet, tuæ virtuti debitam coronam, sapientiæ gloriam, animo tranquillitatem, corpori valetudinem, vitæ immortalitatem concedat.

Quæ laudes? O Phœbe, doce, quæ fama? triumphi?
Gloria? quæ divina viri vox sufficit actis?
Virtus corde sedens celsam sibi collocat arcem:
Erigit illustrem Pallas in pectore turrem.
Sceptra tenet pietas, micat alto in culmine splendor,
Fama tubam resonat resonantis in æthere laudis.
Quis locus in terris vestri non plenus honoris?
Te novit dominum præclara Minerva, Solonem
Anglia, patronum Musæ, regina Lycurgum.
O decus imperii, lux gentis, gloria regni,
Mente sapis, pietate micas, virtute refulges.
Cui Dominus longos concedat Nestoris annos.
[*Here follow ten lines of Greek, too bad to be copied.*]

Tuæ amplitudini devinctissimus ÆGIDIUS ASCHAM.

MS. Lansd. 39, p. 159.

IV.—TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS ESPECIAL GOOD LORD AND BENEFICIAL PATRON THE LORD TREASURER IN MOST HUMBLE WISE BE THESE DELIVERED.

The good effect he hoped for from his lordship's letters to Trinity College in his behalf for a fellowship.

Nov. 12, 1583.

Literæ tuæ, vir omni literarum scientia ornatissime, illustri sapientiæ ornatu amictæ, summæ auctoritatis

præsidio munitæ, felicique divinæ naturæ tuæ judicio approbatæ, illum apud Magistrum collegii Trinitatis et Seniores locum habuerunt, ut augustissimæ principis voluntati confirmationem ad vim majorem, tibi summam laudem ad benignitatis memoriam, mihi spem alacrem ad singularem ingenii cultum, attulisse videantur. Et quamvis in te tanto viro tanta humanitas, consilium et auctoritas cernitur, et eminentius ad veram religionis puritatem, literarum cursum salutarem florentis reipublicæ amplitudinem elucescit, ut tui splendoris domicilium communis imperii finibus vix terminetur; tamen, quum excelsæ benignitatis summa utilitas, ad usum hominis mei ordinis latissime diffusa dimanet, et major causam meam semper vel suscipiendi voluntas vel agendi prudentia vel perficiendi facultas requiri non possit, maximam culpam committerem, si aut tanti beneficii in adjuvando, aut eximiæ voluntatis tuæ in scribendo memoriam unquam abjicerem. Itaque, amplissime domine, quum te et inclinantis status subsidium et nascentis doctrinæ patronum sim adeptus, nihil majori cura efficiendum, nihil alacriori studio elaborandum, nihil enitendum paratiori industria mihi proponam quam ut otium meum academicum non languidum ad inertiam, sed quietum ad alacritatem, in virtutis studio doctrinæque palæstra dirigatur, ut linguæ et literæ nostræ nonnihil ad meum fructum, plus ad aliorum usum, potissimum ad tuam laudem, quarum tu jam antistes es, colantur et efflorescant. Tantum interim et hujus beneficii præstantia, et futuri auxilii tui spe animatus mihi videor, sive in vineam Domini, sive in reipublicæ administrationem reservatus sim, ut nunquam nec hebescere acumen, nec languescere conatum patiantur. Si scirem literas nostras, sermone barbaras, scriptione incultas, prolixitate honori

tuo molestas non esse, illustriora et academiæ Cantabrigiensis concilia et collegii Trinitatis negotia, ad amplitudinem tuam, quoties daretur occasio, fideliter, vere, et considerate perscriberem. Deus dominationem tuam honore majorem, virtute illustrem, majestate felicem, tempore eternam reddat et perpetuam. Tuæ devinctissimus amplitudini ÆGIDIUS ASCHAM.

MS. Lansd. 39, p. 187.

V.—FOR A PENSION TO BE SETTLED UPON HIM WHICH HIS FATHER ENJOYED.

Junii, 1585.

Quamvis paupertas musis inimica sit, ornatissime domine, tamen, quum rerum penuria præsentis industriæ alacritati impedimentum potius inferat, quam perpetuam futuræ spei desperationem incutiat; si præceps temere judicantium suspicio non tantum ad defuncti patris infamiam iniqua, quantum vitæ meæ conditio propter inopiam misera fuisset, equidem hoc tempore gratulatorias non petaces literas accepisses, et huic petendi meæ licentiæ, ut negotiorum tuorum magnitudo timorem semper, ita jampridem pudor silentium injecisset. Jam vero, quum eo prorupit communis multorum vox, quum tenues vitæ meæ academicæ fortunas et infra communem studiosorum usum positas intueantur, ut patrem sui et posteritatis memorem officio indignum, a favoris tui benevolentia rejectum, et serenissimæ reginæ exosum, palam et uno ore acclamitent, quod nullam mihi aut jure hereditario possessionem stabilem aut annuo stipendio pensionem certam reliquerat, quum et in eo loco ut a Latinis epistolis, et illi principi ut benignissimæ Elizabethæ liberalissimæ reginæ, et tanto tempore, ut duodecim annorum spatio esset; si inquam hæc latius dissipata opinio ad paterni nominis dedecus serpat (a cujus labe nos

immunes esse non possumus) ignosce tum, illustrissime domine, huic ultimæ toties petendi libertati, et in posterum nunquam tam audacter honorem tuum gravioribus reipublicæ negotiis implicatum interpellandi, et quum illud jam petatur, honoratissime vir, quod principi ad concedendum honorificum, tibi ad agendum gloriosum, mihi ad petendum honestum, ad obtinendum exoptatum sit, nihil specie illustrius, nihil possessione diuturnum, nihil pretio magnificum, nihil exemplo novum, sed annua pecunia ad librorum sumptum et studiorum rationem necessaria, et ut septennio, si honori tuo ita visum fuerit, terminetur, et tantum viginti librarum stipendium, et quod olim etiam patri meo a potentissimo Henrico Octavo liberaliter concessum, confirmatum ab Edvardo Sexto literarum, virtutis veræque religionis studiosissimo, continuatum etiam ad patris usque sepulcrum a liberali laboris præteriti remuneratrice, et paternæ quum in officio fungendo spectatæ fidei, tum in juventute instituenda quotidianæ diligentiæ non oblita, serenissima Elizabetha; quum hoc petatur ab illa principe, quæ, ut scio, commode potest, et, ut spero, libenter velit, et tua ope, quæ nunquam afflictis in necessitate defuit: et eo, omnem ut ætatem in literarum studiis contererem: spero tantum huic et pro patris fama pio et naturali dolori, et pro mea necessitate vehementi petitioni concessurum quantum patris spiritus a paratissima regina petere possit, aut literararum studia a Musarum patrono, aut paupertas a Mecænate, aut justa patrem ab infamia vindicandi ratio a summa auctoritate efflagitare. Deus honorem tuum ecclesiæ salutarem, reipublicæ utilem, literis benignum diutissime servet incolumem, et vitam tuam, præsentem plena gratia, futuram gloria coronet sempiterna. Tuæ amplitudinis studiosissimus

ÆGIDIUS ASCHAM. *MS. Lansd.* 46, p. 20.

VI.—ÆGIDIUS ASCHAM SOLICITING HIS PETITION FOR A PENSION.

Sep. 1, 1587.

Ea est, honoratissime domine, singularis tua et propensa adjuvandi bonitas, ut communi bonorum omnium laudum tuarum congratulatione humanitatis tuæ amplitudo aliis ad virtutum tuarum imitationem illustre exemplum, tibi ad nominis immortalitatem gloriosum monumentum, bonis ad spem alacrem unicum solatium efflorescat. Et in universo isto dignitatis tuæ consensu, nemo quidem est, qui strictiori gratitudinis vinculo, propter summum beneficiorum cumulum Aschamo arctius teneatur. Patris enim non viventis solum beneficiorum tuorum quotidiana apud omnes commemoratio, verum et morientis etiam ista de bonitate tua posteritati relicta laus est,

Ἔχω ἃ ἔχω, διά σε, κ'ουκ ἄλλὸν βροτόν.

Et in honoris tui humanissimo patrocinio ut certum vitæ suæ solatium collocavit, ita suis tutissimum subsidium reliquit. Pater enim quum nullum filiis nec reditum nec stipendium reliquerat, animum tamen non abjecit, sed in postremo respirandi halitu ultimam illam petitionem serenissimæ reginæ jam exhibitam (quam illustrissima princeps et humaniter accepit et benigne approbavit) moriens pater tuo, honoratissime domine, auxilio sic commendavit ut sola tua et solita benignitas quum petendi animum, tum spem obtinendi confirmaret. Ignosce igitur, ornatissime vir, audaci toties interpellandi pudori, quem necessitas impellit; subvenito honestissimæ petitioni, quam pater efflagitat. Deus Optimus Maximus honorem tuum omni amplitudine illustrem adornet; bonitatem cœlesti mercede remuneret; virtutis divinæ spiritu mentem illuminet;

vitæ longævam salutem concedat; gloriam æternitate coronet. Honori tuo devinctissimus ÆGIDIUS ASCHAM.

MS. Lansd. 54, p. 168.

VII.

Refusal of her Majesty's request on his behalf by Mr Dr Still, and fellows of Trinity College.

1592.

Si vel reginæ inviolandæ voluntatis, cujus imperio se suaque omnia debent, vel divinæ bonitatis tuæ, qua semper usi sunt, vel justissimæ petitionis meæ, quam ratione labefactare non possunt, memorem curam Magister et Seniores haberent, ornatissime domine, non ita vehementer summæ auctoritati resisterent, tantæ prudentiæ aliorum gratiam et suam importunitatem non opponerent, mortuum patrem inhumaniter non oppugnarent, nec meæ paupertati palam inviderent. Jam vero quum proprio desiderio inserviant, aut beneficium hoc a potentissima principe munificentissime profectum, per æquissimum dominum sapienter approbatum, propter patris nomen juste concessum, inopia languescenti filio liberaliter attributum, non agnoscunt; aut utilitate (collegii an privata non dicam) illaqueati, dum, quod mihi serenissima regina, illi rerum abundantia ditioribus et ita in collegio amicorum multitudine potentioribus elargiri studeant, nihil aliud moliri præ se ferunt quam ut propriam gratiam reginæ favori anteponentes, satis constantes et illius mandato et tuo, honoratissime domine, judicio adversarii videantur: et me ut cupiant, quem per me satis miserum vident, illorum auctoritate (si quod velint poterunt) ipsi infortunio mancipari. Noli igitur, in summo honore humanissime domine, in petitione honesta, reginea

voluntate confirmata, nullo statuto impedita, non vel similitudine iniqua nec exemplo (quamvis vehementer illud propter senioritatis defectum, quod nihil interest, illi urgeant) molesta, a patrocinio meo desistere, quum omnes vitæ meæ rationes et ipsa etiam vita, in unius tua voluntate, gratia et auctoritate collocentur. Atque ita hoc tempore in justa petitione mea ne molestus tibi sim, quod illustrissima regina imperat, glorior: quod æquissimus dominus probat reficior: quod æquitas adjuvat confido, quod patris nomen honestat gaudeo; quod ab optimo domino paupertas mea efflagitat, acquiesco. Deus Optimus Maximus honori tuo dignitatis majorem amplitudinem, sapientiæ divini spiritus præsentiam, bonitati eternam misericordiæ suæ mercedem, corpori perpetuam sanitatem, animo felicem tranquillitatem, in vita præsenti divinam gratiam, futura eternam gloriam largiatur. Tuæ amplitudini deditissimus ÆGIDIUS ASCHAM.*

MS. Lansd. 71, p. 206.

* All the short headings prefixed to these seven letters are copied from the Lansdowne MS.

GLOSSARY OF OLD WORDS

IN VOL. III.

The modern spelling, having been generally adopted, has been accidentally retained for the old words aduoulteres, avaunce, &c., about twelve in all. In the Glossary the old word has been given in the alphabetical order, and the modern form, found in the text, is given in Italics.

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Page 318, line 20, for LÆLIA read LÆLII.

THE END.

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